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20 Years of Support for European Integration Studies:

From the Jean Monnet Action to the Jean Monnet Programme

20 ans de soutien aux études en intégration européenne:

De l'Action Jean Monnet au Programme Jean Monnet

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Programme pour l'éducation et
la formation tout au long de la vie

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European Commission
Directorate-General for
Education and Culture
Jean Monnet Programme

Commission européenne
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l'éducation et de la culture
Programme Jean Monnet

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Programme de la conférence Jean Monnet 20 ans de soutien aux études en intégration européenne: De l'Action Jean Monnet au Programme Jean Monnet, Bruxelles Septembre 2009

I. Opening session

José Manuel Barroso

Jan Figel'

José Manuel Barroso

President of the European
Commission



L'EUROPE A LA CROISEE DES CHEMINS - CE QUE JE CROIS.

Je suis très heureux d'ouvrir une nouvelle Conférence Jean Monnet et de fêter avec vous le 20e anniversaire de l'Action Jean Monnet.

Je crois que je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire à quel point je considère le programme Jean Monnet comme important pour l'Europe. Les réseaux d'universités jouent un rôle essentiel dans la diffusion de la connaissance et dans la réflexion sur l'intégration européenne. Ils accomplissent un travail intellectuel remarquable, qui nourrit le projet européen. Je vous en félicite sincèrement, au nom de la Commission et en mon nom personnel. Le programme Jean Monnet remplit une fonction irremplaçable de laboratoire d'idées, d'analyse et de décryptage indépendant et décentralisé. C'est un aspect que j'aimerais voir se développer ces prochaines années.

Je veux aussi vous remercier de donner le goût de l'Europe à des milliers de jeunes étudiants, partout dans le monde, à des générations entières, dans une liberté académique totale et avec un esprit critique, qui doivent être préservés. Je peux même en témoigner personnellement. Après mes études de droit à Lisbonne, et pour des recherches en sciences politiques que j'ai dû faire lorsque j'étais étudiant puis assistant à l'université de Genève, j'ai eu mon tout premier contact avec la Commission européenne. J'étais à mille lieues d'imaginer qu'un jour, j'aurai l'honneur de la présider!

En vingt ans d'existence, le succès de l'Action Jean Monnet ne s'est jamais démenti. Ce succès est le vôtre. Et même si nous créons prochainement, comme je l'espère, un service extérieur commun, soyez certains que l'Union restera très attachée à votre réseau d'ambassadeurs européens!

J'ai souvent dit que je voyais une profonde unité entre mon parcours politique et mon parcours universitaire. Je ne croyais pas si bien dire ... comme vous le savez, j'entre en session d'examens cette semaine, aujourd'hui même! Je présenterai aux groupes politiques et aux députés du Parlement européen les grandes lignes de ma vision politique pour le prochain mandat de la Commission européenne. Je souhaite vous faire partager aujourd'hui quelques-unes des réflexions générales que je développerai à cette occasion.

Je crois qu'après la crise économique et financière, le monde ne sera plus le même. Pour moi, cette crise est allée bien au-delà d'une crise des marchés ou de la régulation. J'y vois surtout une crise des valeurs. Elle a aussi mis en relief un rapport d'interdépendance mondiale jamais atteint dans l'histoire. Elle a modifié les équilibres de pouvoir mondiaux. Ma conviction profonde, c'est que dans cette période de glissement et de transformation, l'Europe a une chance à saisir et une place à prendre. Qu'elle doit se positionner. Et qu'elle doit affirmer sa volonté de contribuer à façonner la gouvernance mondiale, avec les valeurs d'ouverture qui sont les siennes.

Nous sommes à la croisée des chemins. Et le choix fondamental qui se pose à nous est simple: soit nous suivons une vision claire de notre avenir commun, soit nous subissons l'avenir façonné par d'autres. Soit nous menons le jeu, soit nous perdons du terrain. Sans un véritable projet politique, l'Europe risque d'être marginalisée. Ma réponse, c'est le choix de l'Europe politique. C'est par l'Europe politique que nous garantirons la vitalité de notre projet et la protection des intérêts concrets de nos concitoyens. Que nous donnerons confiance aux jeunes générations dans leur avenir. Et que nous gagnerons assez d'influence pour contribuer sans arrogance, en toute modestie, à la définition d'une "gouvernance de la mondialisation" qui respecte nos intérêts et porte aussi l'empreinte de nos valeurs. Pour l'Europe, c'est l'heure de vérité.

Une nouvelle législature s'ouvre. Nous avons devant nous un certain nombre de rendez-vous importants pour l'avenir. Des questions politiques fondamentales sont posées. Et la réponse politique qui y sera apportée sera lourde de conséquences. Ma profession de foi, l'Europe à laquelle je crois et l'Europe que je veux aider à construire, c'est une Europe de l'ambition et une Europe pour les citoyens, qui ne va pas sans une Europe des valeurs.

L'Europe a tous les atouts pour devenir une force motrice de progrès dans un monde complexe. Nous sommes un continent de démocraties stables. Nous avons réussi un élargissement qui nous a rendus plus forts à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur. Notre économie sociale de marché a fait ses preuves. Notre marché unique a prouvé sa résistance face aux pires difficultés et agit plus que jamais comme un moteur de la croissance européenne. Notre monnaie unique a joué un rôle de stabilisateur important. Nous avons une industrie, une agriculture et des services de niveau mondial. Nous pouvons aussi dire que nous avons une longueur d'avance dans l'économie verte.

A mes yeux, l'Europe doit encore aller plus loin. L'échelle continentale, l'Europe réunifiée, est très importante, mais la volonté et la cohérence politiques sont aussi essentielles. C'est pourquoi les Etats membres devraient faire un pas en avant vers une sorte de "déclaration d'interdépendance", un engagement à l'union. Face à l'interdépendance mondiale, il faut que les États membres reconnaissent l'interdépendance qui les lie, autour de leurs valeurs et leurs intérêts communs. Les pires ennemis de l'Europe, ce sont la division et la tentation du chacun-pour-soi. Reconnaître l'interdépendance européenne, c'est se donner une grande force pour agir ensemble et peser sur les affaires du monde. À l'heure de la mondialisation, nous devons accepter que nous avons plus que jamais besoin de l'Europe et d'une Europe forte.

Je ne parle évidemment pas d'une centralisation renforcée des pouvoirs. Au contraire, je l'ai toujours dit, la subsidiarité est à mes yeux, avec la solidarité, un principe essentiel à préserver. Ce dont je parle, c'est d'esprit européen, de véritable engagement européen, de valeurs européennes et de culture de la décision européenne, dans le plein respect du droit et de la méthode communautaires.

Europeans know better than anyone else the limitations of national isolation, not to mention nationalism. They know that they must close ranks in order to defend their interests in the world. But we should remain open. The crisis only accentuates this overriding need. To deny it would be to refuse to play the cards I mentioned or take advantage of our collective strength. When I hear some people calling unashamedly for narrow-minded nationalism, my view is that they are scoring an own goal, and denying their countries an opportunity to emerge from the crisis!

It is clear that our interdependence must be matched with our values. Europe has its own model of society and its own way of looking at the world, community life and the common good. It has high values, chief among them being freedom, justice, solidarity and openness. I see no contradiction between our values and our pragmatism. Nor is there any contradiction between political ambition and delivering concrete results to citizens. This is indeed our trademark. And it is just part of the enormous political and intellectual legacy left to us by Jean Monnet, the combination of a long term vision with pragmatic ways of achieving concrete progress.

The crisis shows that the world needs societal models which inspire new ideas to deal with new circumstances. This is what, for instance, New York university Professor Tony Judt calls "a serviceable model to propose for universal emulation". The crisis also shows that the world needs ethical rules and values - two good reasons why Europe should remain at the centre. I consider that our achievements over the past fifty years give us the right to propose (not impose), without arrogance, our vision and our methods. They give us the right to claim the position of joint world leader, in a spirit of value-led partnership.

My plan for the coming years is to allow the European model of society to prepare to take up the challenges we are already facing, and also to invest in radical, innovative change over the next ten years.

In the short term, there is very little risk of our getting bogged down in routine! We must emerge successfully from the economic and financial crisis; curb rising unemployment; boost the circulation of credit; ensure that sectors supported during the crisis continue to function properly following the withdrawal of state support; restore an ethical dimension to markets; get back on the path to growth and social

cohesion; manage the consequences of demographic change; and launch practical reforms to ensure sustainable development in Europe.

I will not discuss in detail the European Economic Recovery Plan proposed by the Commission, but I would like to point out that we are going to inject into our economies a total of up to 6% of European GDP in 2009 and 2010. Unemployment is clearly the number one concern today, in particular youth unemployment which stands at a much higher rate than total unemployment (19.8% compared with 9%). This trend must be reversed.

Our strategy for renewed growth must focus on social integration. Economic performance and social progress are not mutually exclusive: they complement each other. Economic recovery cannot be based on social failure any more than social progress can be built in an economic wasteland. Europe can create not only "green jobs" but also millions of "white jobs" for instance, by providing health care and social services for children and the elderly at a time when Europe's population is ageing and more women are entering the labour market.

One thing is certain: current circumstances require the strengthening of the social dimension of Europe. Our model of society must be adapted while preserving the core elements, in other words our values - integration, fairness and justice, for instance by raising considerably our level of qualifications and education. We must make a huge effort to guarantee competitiveness and offer more decent jobs.

In the longer term, our pursuit of social cohesion must be underpinned by new sources of growth. We must ensure sustainable sources of growth, for instance, by investing in innovation and in networks of the future.

The vision I am proposing for the period to 2020 involves targeting our skills and technology on future-oriented activities, modernising in order to support social change and ensuring that our economic development is in keeping with our environmental objectives.

To achieve this, Europe must become a genuinely knowledge based society. European research policy must step up a gear. The European Research Area must

become one of the driving forces in sustainable development. We must rise to the highest level of world excellence, and keep and attract the best brains.

Europe must also give a major boost to innovation, which is not just about products. Innovation is also about social aspects, about the way we work, and the options we choose as consumers and citizens: online health, "green" innovation, environment friendly construction methods, etc.

Next, the fight against climate change is clearly a key aspect of sustainable development. Europe has taken the lead in this fight. We, Europeans consider this a question of political responsibility and economic and social importance. We have set the tone by being the first to lay down binding targets for ourselves and objectives for the creation of green jobs. We must press home our advantage since we were the first to invest in our environment.

International negotiations on climate change illustrate clearly this idea that our model of society, our values and our integration can be a source of inspiration for the world if we stand united and seize the initiative. Europe, by setting an example, is leading its partners at world level. It has a clear vision of the outcome it wants from the Copenhagen conference. It has made commitments, in particular with respect to developing countries. The result is that a process has now been set in motion, and every country in the world is now sitting around the table with us.

Another example is the management of the world financial crisis. We, the European Union, were at the origin of the G20 process, as a way to move towards genuine regulation and supervision of world financial markets. It was Europe's approach that won the day. Acting together at international level – as we do at European level – will increase our chances of cutting short the recession and limiting the social costs for everyone.

It was Europe as well which urged its international partners not to settle the crisis at the expense of the poorest developing countries or the solidarity we owe them. We will not put achieving the Millennium Development Goals or the promotion of the rule of law, democracy and human rights in the world on the back burner! What is valid in Europe – namely the priority to poverty reduction and the defence of human rights – is just as valid outside Europe.

Europe must therefore continue to set the pace for international action, for instance at the G20 Summit in Pittsburgh and at the Copenhagen conference on climate change at the end of the year.

La crise a démontré que l'interdépendance mondiale était irréversible. Le monde offre aujourd'hui à l'Europe une occasion sans précédent de façonner les événements, au moment où l'ordre établi et la hiérarchie des pouvoirs est peut être en train de changer. Les facteurs d'influence deviennent plus complexes. La puissance militaire, la puissance démographique et la puissance économique ne sont plus les seules manières d'exercer une autorité mondiale.

Alors qu'on ne compte pas sur moi pour avaliser l'analyse des déclinologues et leur théorie de la crise permanente en Europe et du déclin européen ! J'entends dire ici ou là que le monde se réduirait à un face-à-face entre les Etats-Unis et la Chine. Ce que je constate, c'est plutôt le pouvoir d'entraînement et la force d'inspiration de l'Union européenne. Ce que je vois, c'est plutôt que nos partenaires internationaux se rapprochent de plus en plus des positions et des normes de l'Europe. Ce que je vois, c'est que certains commencent à considérer sérieusement nos mesures de lutte contre le changement climatique. Ce que je vois, c'est que certains, maintenant, souhaitent la mise en place de systèmes de santé qui existent en Europe depuis des décennies. Ce que je vois, c'est aussi le vœu de certains de se doter de systèmes de sécurité sociale semblables à ceux de l'Europe.

Nous avons donc toutes les raisons d'être confiants. Ayant engrangé un demi-siècle d'expérience de la coopération transnationale, l'Union européenne a une vocation particulière à imprimer sa marque à la gouvernance mondiale et une "expertise" naturelle à exercer dans la mondialisation, sans arrogance, forte de son expérience du colonialisme, de sa terrible expérience des nationalismes extrêmes et du totalitarisme.

Le traité de Lisbonne, s'il est ratifié, nous donnera les moyens de défendre plus efficacement nos intérêts dans le monde. Mais, attention, je le dis souvent, si les institutions sont importantes, il faut aussi de la volonté politique pour utiliser pleinement les instruments européens.

Pour ma part, je prends l'engagement de tout faire pour que la Commission joue pleinement son rôle de moteur européen pour donner à l'Union le poids qu'elle mérite.

Je veux ranimer le goût et la passion de l'Europe. Je veux redonner aux Européens le sentiment du lien fort qui les relie à notre projet de vie en commun. Je veux leur faire partager ma profonde conviction: l'Union européenne est le meilleur chemin pour l'avenir, pour nous et pour nos enfants. Elle peut aussi apporter, en ce début de siècle, une contribution très positive au reste du monde, en particulier dans la lutte contre la pauvreté et la défense de notre planète.

Voilà ce que je crois.

Jan Figel'

Member of the European Commission responsible for Education, Training, Culture and Youth



CRITICAL REFLECTION AND RELIABLE INFORMATION: THE JEAN MONNET COMMUNITY AND THE FUTURE COURSE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

Over the past five years, and thanks to your leadership, education and culture have moved centre stage among European Union policies.

It is with great pleasure that I join you to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Jean Monnet Action, launched in 1989. Today marks a very special occasion and I am glad to see here among us all the key actors of this Action and Programme from its very beginning to the present.

For 20 years now, the Action has been the showcase for a Europe built on openness:

- Openness towards knowledge and research. 2009 is also the European Year of Creativity and Innovation. In the current economic and financial crisis, Europe needs more than ever the critical dynamism of new ideas.
- Openness to dialogue: The circulation of ideas, the mobility of persons, and exchanges between cultures are at the very heart of the Jean Monnet Action.
- Openness to the world: the Jean Monnet network has evolved into the paragon of a worldwide community cooperating with the European institutions.

I have no doubt that culture, citizenship, and a more intense dialogue among the peoples of Europe are the next frontier of our process of integration.

Also, I have no doubt that if Europe is to lead the world in the knowledge age, we will need to build world-class foundations and links in education and training on a global scale.

The Jean Monnet and the Erasmus Mundus Programmes are perfect examples of our efforts in this direction thanks to their impeccable academic credentials and global scope.

In addition, we will need to redouble our efforts in the policy areas with the potential to bridge the gap between the European Union institutions and its citizens and to build, in time, a continent-wide *polis*.

Many of the policies that have been under my responsibility over the past five years of service are unique in their ability to give Europe a human face and bring it closer to the people.

I am aware that so many of you have already developed excellent projects that have successfully brought the citizens and civil society in contact with the European ideal. I commend your efforts and I encourage you to continue along this path in the future. I am also proud that we have celebrated the 2008 Year of Intercultural Dialogue during my term in office.

This European Year has involved hundreds of national, regional and local actors; above all, they have engaged large numbers of fellow European citizens; many of whom have directly participated in the democratic life of the Union for the first time. The Jean Monnet network has been a major actor in this process. Our conference on Intercultural Dialogue in the Balkans was one of the key events of 2008 and the only one that took place outside the European Union.

In the tradition of the Jean Monnet conferences, the Zagreb initiative went well beyond academic debate and intellectual analysis. A number of fruitful contacts were made and several projects between cultural and political actors from the Western Balkans were born.

And this goes to show what serious and coordinated work in the cultural and intellectual domains can achieve.

But – as you know – the Jean Monnet Programme and intercultural dialogue had been linked for a long time before Zagreb. It is in large measure thanks to six major Jean Monnet conferences, organised since 2002, that intercultural dialogue was put on the table in European debates and gained its current prominence.

There is a sense in which the world-wide Jean Monnet network is itself a long-standing exercise in intercultural dialogue. I often like to stress that intercultural dialogue is among the raw materials that have been used to build our united Europe. If you ask me, the European project can be best described as a history-making, continent-wide effort to bring together peoples of diverse cultural backgrounds, traditions and visions.

And its ultimate goal can also be described as an attempt to build stable, respectful and peaceful relations among peoples and countries – both within Europe and with our neighbours in the region and across the world.

In present company, this may seem like restating the obvious. But we need to remind ourselves of these simple facts from time to time. If we don't, we might become too complacent and lose sight of their significance.

I would like to briefly recall the process of structural reinforcement that the Jean Monnet network has seen since 2001.

The Action has gradually been upgraded into a full-blown programme with a solid legal basis and its operations have been extended to include not less than 146 Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence, 837 Chairs and 2,060 Modules in 62 countries on the five continents.

The incorporation of the Jean Monnet programme into the Lifelong Learning Programme in 2007 has been an important step for the activities covered and financed under the Jean Monnet label.

The move has important practical consequences, because we now have more stable tools to support research, programmes, and other activities.

It seems to me that the reaction of the academic community has been enthusiastic. The Jean Monnet Programme is now a stronger and more sustainable instrument of support for European integration studies.

Apart from the traditional Jean Monnet Action, the programme now includes support for six high-level centres devoted to key aspects of European integration as follows:

- European University Institute,
- College of Europe,
- Academy of European Union Law,
- European Institute of Public Administration,
- International Centre for European Training,
- European Agency for Development in Special Needs Education.

Let me tell you that the structural reinforcement and our achievements over the last few years would not have been possible without the energy, enthusiasm, and excellence that are characteristic of the Jean Monnet community – that means, of you all.

Thanks are also due to the continued support of the European Parliament. Members of European Parliament know full-well how important the Jean Monnet professors are as ambassadors of European integration in Members States, in the candidate countries, and around the world.

Your courses, programmes and research disseminate information about our Union that is thorough, informed and reliable.

But the Jean Monnet community is not only about dissemination. You are among the best critics of our process of integration and of the European institutions. As your involvement in intercultural dialogue shows, you are also and collectively a driver of innovation in European debates.

As a consequence, in continental Europe the programme has brought Academia closer to political circles and civil society. And this is just as well, because academic circles command respect in lively and creative societies and their views are heeded. The Presidents and Members of the European Commission who, over the past 20 years, have been involved in Jean Monnet debates have always insisted on the importance of your independent and critical contribution for the development of the European model.

In sum: the Jean Monnet network is one of the most precious assets that we are bequeathing to the next Commission. I have no doubt the Commission will maintain and develop the special relationship that we have established with your ever-growing community.

This conference comes at a time of serious international challenges. Today, we face an economic and financial crisis of unprecedented proportions.

The global recession is the latest addition to an already long list of challenges for the European Union: ageing populations and migration; energy and the environment; internal and external security; Europe's competitiveness in the face of emerging economic giants.

Momentous changes are looming on the horizon; the changes that the younger generations will see in their lifetimes are likely to surpass anything we have seen in our own.

I have great expectations that the Jean Monnet network will help us one more time to tackle these challenges. You have proved your worth in the past on several major issues.

The Jean Monnet conferences have often found the way to bridge the gap between critical, academic reflection and constructive policy-making.

In addition, there will still be the need to explain Europe to its citizens. The low turnout at the elections for the European Parliament last June is a clear sign of this need.

I cannot think of a more competent, independent, and therefore trustworthy source of information than the Jean Monnet community.

The chapters of this book are intended to guide you through the concrete contribution of the Jean Monnet network to the understanding of European integration both in the academic and policy worlds.

The role of the Jean Monnet Action in the process of transformation in Central and Eastern Europe is highlighted from the very first chapter.

As you know, many Jean Monnet professors have played crucial advisory and policy-making roles before and after their countries joined the European Union. It is fair to say that the knowledge of the Jean Monnet professors and their pedagogical qualities have been essential during the entire accession process. The Jean Monnet network has had the honour of seeing some of its members elected as Heads of State just before or after accession – I am thinking of Presidents Ferenc Madl of Hungary and Guido De Marco of Malta.

Other Jean Monnet professors have served as Ministers of Foreign or European Affairs – the chairperson of the following session – Professor Saryusz-Wolski – is an example, as are Professor Rupel from Slovenia and tomorrow's closing speaker, Professor Balazs from Hungary.

It goes without saying that we will look beyond enlargement and consider the truly global scale of the Jean Monnet network. The contributions collected in this book from colleagues in nine non-European Union countries on the five continents stand proof of this fact. Let me just mention that this increasingly global character of the Jean Monnet Programme goes hand in hand with our broader effort to help Europe's higher education open up to the world.

The 2009 Jean Monnet Prize

As you know, during the Berlin Launching Conference of the Lifelong Learning Programme in May 2007, the various LLP sub-programmes – including Jean Monnet – awarded Prizes to highlight excellence in the implementation of particular projects.

We have decided to continue with this practice and to award one Jean Monnet Prize per year at the annual Jean Monnet Conference.

In 2008, the award went to Professor Dai Bingran from Fudan University in Shanghai for his pioneering role in bringing European–integration studies to China.

As in the previous years, the recipient was identified jointly by the President of the European University Council for the Jean Monnet Programme and the European Community Studies Association' World President.

It is my great pleasure to announce that the 2009 Jean Monnet Prize is awarded to Professor Catherine Flaesch–Mougin from the University of Rennes for her outstanding work in establishing a pluri-disciplinary Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence that brings together the Jean Monnet Chairs, lecturers and researchers of the Universities of Rennes 1 and Rennes 2 and the Ecole Normale Supérieure of Cachan–Bretagne.

This award shows our profound appreciation for Professor's Flaesch–Mougin commitment to excellence, for her achievements in spreading knowledge and awareness about the process of European integration at the level of regional civil society, while reaching out to the world.

In awarding Professor Catherine Flaesch-Mougin the 2009 Jean Monnet Prize, let me emphasize that I count on the Jean Monnet community to consolidate its achievements and to continue help our Union grow stronger for many years to come.

II. 20 Years of Transformation in Central and Eastern Europe: the Jean Monnet Action as a Tool for European Union Accession

Jacek Saryusz-Wolski

Erhard Busek

Vilenas Vadapalas

Jiri Zemanek

Vinko Kandzija

**Jacek
Saryusz Wolski**

Member of the
European
Parliament and
former Chairman
of its Foreign
Affairs Committee
Former Minister
for European
Affairs of Poland,
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Board of the
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in Natolin



**20 YEARS OF TRANSFORMATION IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE: THE JEAN MONNET
ACTION AS A TOOL FOR EUROPEAN UNION ACCESSION**

The topic of this session, inaugural one, should be, in brief, 20 years after. These 20 years after Jean Monnet Action started and it's 20 years after the last big bang enlargement started in 1989. Before giving the floor to my colleagues on my left and right hand side which come from the old Union and others from the new Union, I want to pay tribute to the Jean Monnet Action which has played important role for the Central Eastern Europe and the new enlargement countries. It's obviously a very unique network worldwide, but what I want to stress is that, it played a very unique role in the enlargement process and I am looking at Jacqueline Lastenouse, the very pioneer of this action. We owe her so much.

Jean Monnet Actions did not only help us to teach about European studies and research. In fact, looking from the bigger distance, we can say that the Jean Monnet Action - related academic activities were a part of the enlargement process and the transformation of this part of Europe, which is now part of the European Union. We should thank Commissioner Figel for paying such a great attention to this academic network, as well as his services, the Director General. He called 1989 "Annus Mirabilis". The Jean Monnet Action, in fact, is as old as this big bang process of

1989, of a big change of the Central Eastern Europe which was marked by the first free election in my country, in Poland, then the first non-communist government and then the fall of the Berlin Wall. It was thanks to far sighted and very open and friendly attitude of then Secretary General of the European Commission Emile Noel, legendary "EC fonctionnaire", and the person I mentioned already, Jacqueline Lastenouse, a key person of the Jean Monnet Action in the early beginnings.

When the Jean Monnet Action was becoming the first European Union programme ever opened, for the then aspirants, future accession states, it was like a swallow. It was for the first time, due to this openness and far-sighted approach, that Jean Monnet Action was introduced to of the time even not candidate countries, to Poland in 1993 and to Hungary in 1994 and then to many others, today new Member States. Already in 1991, this part of the European Commission services, the Directorate General Education was the first European Union's instance to open the doors to newcomers, and to play a really pioneering role at the forefront in the areas that later were covered by the association and accession process. It was initiated by the pioneers of the "rapprochement" from Brussels, from the European Commission, as much as from the people from the academic circles and politics from Central Eastern Europe. Those roles at that time in the Central Eastern Europe were very much linked, like in the case of Professor Ferenc Mádl, Professor of the European law and then the President of Hungary or me moving from University directly to negotiating association and accession. On a political level there was a lot of enthusiasm and good will for the European integration in the Central Eastern Europe, but it was accompanied by acute lack of knowledge and expertise in the policies and the "acquis communautaire" in the wider circles of the society and administration. The main resource and the only one were the universities where academics had been studying the European integration for two, three, four decades. In a rather platonic way, limited direct contact with the reality. They were intellectually prepared to design and guide the association and access process, but were very limited in numbers and very lonely. And then this loneliness was met with this open attitude and the extended hand by people from the European Commission, once again thank you. Wisdom of young political elite in Central and Eastern Europe was to give those people with knowledge (few of them), the helm and the institutional power to influence and design the course of events in the countries aspiring to the European membership. That's how the academic expertise in Central Europe made linkages

with the Jean Monnet Action and all of them became a tool for the European accession process.

The role of academic experts in Central Europe was unprecedented as compared to the role played by their homologues in the old union. They were giving a unique chance to act and to implement a process, which normally the academics describe and theorize about. The main interest was more on policies and institutions, then on theory, for obvious reasons. At that stage of lack of the institutional membership, in early 1990s, intellectual linkages like the Jean Monnet Action and inter-university cooperation were filling the institutional vacuum and substituting for non-existing links, in the intellectual and conceptual terms. Academic networking helped to build a conceptual structure of the accession process and created guidelines for the political and economic integration. The first European conference on European studies for Central and Eastern Europe was organised under the auspices of Jean Monnet in Cracow in Jagiellonian University in 1991, with academics from various circles, including the European University Institute in Florence, the College of Europe from Bruges and European Institute of Public Administration (Maastricht Institute). At this early stage, academics under Jean Monnet and European Community Studies Association gave a whole welcome to newcomers. I think that this is the moment to mention some of those who welcomed the newcomers, not all of them present, like Professor Maresceau , like Professor Guy De Carmoy, like Professor Müller-Graff, like Professor Tsoulakis, like Professor Jean Raux, Professor Catherine Flaesch-Mougin, Professor Louis Réboud, Jacques Bourrinet, Malcolm Anderson from Edinburgh Europa Institute, European Union Institute in Florence, College of Europe and European Institute of Public Administration, which I did mention, Professor Wessels and Wallas, Professors Banus, Beckemans, Mény, J. Pellemans, Weiler, dozens and dozens of others. Let me use this opportunity to thank them all for all they did 20 years ago. Those newcomers who owed this gratitude to the academic network of Jean Monnet and the other related activities and were those who are on the list of the participants of our conference like Professor Zemanek, Professor Palankai, Professor Pinotai, minister, Professor Balazs, myself and my Polish colleagues in this room. What was extended was not only help and knowledge but it was also friendship.

This early stage of transfusion of knowledge, materializing dozens of Jean Monnet Chairs and modules, which proliferated best curricula and best academic practice. The special achievement was marked by establishing in Central Europe filials, which are now the Centres of the Excellence like the College of Europe in Warsaw, like European Institute of Public Administration in Łódź. The Jean Monnet Action and related academic linkages were the first, quickest and the best implemented by the new link actions which anticipated, helped and laid ground for the future accessioning in the practical and conceptual terms. Those academic networks gave birth to a multitude of university programs of European studies, helping to educate hundreds and thousands of specialists in Central Europe, who then where running and implementing the accession process: negotiators, "fonctionnaires", and implementators of the *acquis communautaire*. I don't know any sector of European activities who responded so quickly and so effectively to the challenge of enlargement and built conceptual structures and human resources for the enlargement process.

One should also not neglect that the education expertise flows went in both directions. They also helped in preparing better understanding of the realities of the other Europe, ("L'autre Europe") and formulation of the accession process in the old Union itself. Today we should use this experience for European enlargement and the neighborhood policy and also for promotion of Europe worldwide. A lesson to be drawn is that by spreading knowledge, research and education, we should precede and prepare political and institutional action of the European Union.

I would like to thank again the Academic Committee of Jean Monnet and related institutions which were set up for being facilitator and bringing success to the last enlargement. I have in my panel four distinguished professors, in some cases high level politicians from Austria, Lithuania, the Czech Republic and Croatia and they will deliver their personal perspective and experience of relationship between academic action, Jean Monnet Program - related and the big transformation of the Central Eastern Europe which was more then enlargement. It was the reunification of continent.

Erhard Busek

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IMPLEMENTING EUROPE THROUGH EDUCATION – ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND CHALLENGES FOR THE WAY AHEAD

It is a pleasure for me to speak to Jean Monnet Professors about the transformations of the last 20 years. Personally I have devoted the second part of my life to this subject: before 1989 to help the dissidents and to encourage them; and after 1989 to improve the situation in transformation societies. It has to be said quite clearly: the last 20 years are a very successful story for Europe. If I am now critical, this should be not forgotten.

What are the current problems?

- 1.) Education and science is not a European responsibility. The member states of the European Union are still in charge of this subject. The enlargement of the European Union on the democratic and economic level is a success story. But in the field of education and science we are still missing a lot. The mobility programs started by Ralf Dahrendorf and the Jean Monnet Chairs are the only two activities leading in the right direction. We still have an insufficient level of education, science and research in the transformation countries that are already part of the European Union, but also in the possible candidates for further enlargement. I was for a very long time in charge of Southeast Europe on behalf of the European Union. I always said that it is a mistake that we have no responsibility for this. I was very much supported by the European Parliament to do something. But not enough has happened. The result can be

clearly seen by brain drain, by the lack of advanced education and the quality of science. The list of the Jean Monnet Chairs is one of the positive contributions in the right direction. It is a positive development, but it is not enough for South East Europe.

- 2.) In 1989 we had no blue prints on what to do when communism and the centrally planned economies were falling down. So we have been learning for 20 years. In the beginning we had those marvellous intellectuals, journalists, and artists as dissidents. But they had never learned before to govern a country. So far, there are still a number of old communists having changed their plate and the party membership who are in charge. I do not want to criticise them generally, but we missed the right training and building up of a real network. What we see is a certain reestablishment of the old connections. And the transformation is completed, neither in the new member states, nor in the possible candidate countries in Eastern and South Eastern Europe. "Creating Europe" does not only mean to fulfil the "Acquis Communautaire" and to go the way of European Union accession. There is more to the implementation of Europe. Some of it is done by Jean Monnet Chairs, but this is not enough.
- 3.) The Universities are a European invention, dating back to the outgoing Middle Ages and in the Renaissance. In that time it was easier to have mobility of professors and students because Latin was the lingua franca. Even in spite of the practical difficulties of travelling, outstanding professors and also students were moving easily through Europe. You can see this in the vita of many outstanding scientists of those times. We are on that way again. Jean Monnet Professorships are a sign, but the process is not yet finished and we have to do more.
- 4.) We have not yet created Europe. As Jacques Delors commented, we have to give Europe a soul. He meant the common quality of Europe. But are we really dealing with these questions? Have we created a real mobility on quality? Still, there are a lot of differences in the landscape of science and research. These are not an advantage for Europe, but a real danger for the stability of the continent.

5.) While we may be proud of what has already been achieved in Europe, we must always also give a consideration to what we are still missing! Beside stable democracy, we have to do more on education, science and research. Investment in the economy cannot be the only priority. We also need a further development of a network of the Jean Monnet Professors. In which fields? The economists are questioned because the handling of the current financial and economic crisis until now has not been the best. Is enough research being done on this? Also, we have to do something concerning the climate problems. It might be interesting to create a network of Jean Monnet Professor to work together on the subject. Also, we are missing a common approach on health-administration and science. We are living in an over-aged society and I think specific focus on the European level is not yet done.

6.) Also we have a big problem with the “brain drain”. For sure some countries are gaining out of this, but others are losing. In general, Europe is losing talents. So far we have to concentrate on democracy and mobility in specific processes. Jean Monnet Professors are requested to cooperate on the subject.

In general, we need more responsibilities and possibilities for Europe and the European Union. Aside the nation state, the Jean Monnet Professors are a very good example but I want to add another question. The stance of Europe concerning globalisation is now being requested. Are we focusing on this? We have Jean Monnet Professors all over the world, but to define the role of Europe in this process has yet to happen.

Central and Eastern Europe and also South Eastern Europe have specific themes: how can we support the development of education and science in these regions? We all know the weakness of the traditional system in these countries. I think a network of Jean Monnet Professors should be created on this. Also we have to lay more foundations concerning health, medicine and administration in these sectors. That is also true for demography and migration.

Reconciliation and history represent a special chapter. The European integration process started with the mutual understanding between France and Germany.

Reconciliation was the beginning of new Europe. Nowadays we have to acknowledge that we are dealing with a lot of bilateral problems (Slovenia/Croatia, Slovakia/Hungary, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia/Greece and so on). But this is not only a problem of the transformation areas of Europe; it is also a problem of the entire Europe. If we admit that a kind of nationalism – I always refer to it as egoism – is emerging, then it is quite clear that we have not done enough in teaching history. I do not expect a common European history book in the next years but I expect that a process of dialogue on generating development ideas in this respect to be established by Jean Monnet Professors! The only way we can answer to a wrong type of nationalism is by enhancing humanities. I think it is necessary to create special events on this subject.

We can say the glass is half full after 20 years of Jean Monnet Professors, but I think it is also half empty concerning the obligations we have concerning Europe. Unity and diversity request a common understanding of our existence, which can be achieved not in a simple way, without acknowledging the differences, but through better mutual understanding. Here, Jean Monnet Professors have something to do!

Vilenas Vadapalas

Judge at the Court of First Instance of the European Communities;
former Jean Monnet Chair at the University of Vilnius



JEAN MONNET ACTION AS A TOOL FOR EUROPEAN UNION ACCESSION IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE: LEGAL SCHOLARSHIP AND LAW IN THE CONTEXT OF TRANSFORMATION IN LITHUANIA

When I was invited to make this presentation I was asked to first of all share my personal experience with the Jean Monnet Action. Since my personal experience in this area is related both with the accession activities in general and the Jean Monnet Action and European Community Studies Association's activities in particular, I accepted with the biggest interest and pleasure this invitation of Mrs. Bernaldo de Quirós. As for the accession period, my situation in many aspects was a typical situation of an academician in a small former candidate country, where a number of academicians became the civil servants or the experts in the accession process and at the same time continued their teaching and scientific research in the Universities using knowledge and experience from both areas. It was a kind of reciprocal intellectual and professional enrichment. During this period I was the chair holder of Jean Monnet Chair of the European Union law and general director of the European Law Department of the Government of Lithuania checking the compliance of Lithuanian law with the "*acquis communautaire*" and taking part in the European Union accession negotiations.

From this perspective, I am convinced that the Jean Monnet Action was an efficient tool for European Union accession in Lithuania and other countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Jean Monnet Action became a part of intellectual mobilisation in preparing the accession strategy in many candidate countries. Nowadays Jean

Monnet Program is a strong actor in European studies. In general, it provided an active forum for the exchange of ideas and methods of study in the field of European integration for over 20 years.

First of all I would like to emphasize that the efficiency of the Jean Monnet Action in Central and Eastern Europe during the pre-accession period was due to the good organisation of activities of the Jean Monnet team in the Commission, personal experience and contribution of the Jean Monnet team (Mrs. Jacqueline Lastenouse, Mrs. Belen Bernaldo de Quirós, Mr. Luciano Di Fonzo and many others), Commission co-financing, and pro-European Union and reformist environment and motivation in the recipient countries.

Some facts about the beginning the Jean Monnet Action in Lithuania and other Baltic states:

- in Estonia (2001-2003), 1 Jean Monnet Chair and 1 module were established;
- in Latvia (2001-2003), 1 Jean Monnet Chair and 2 courses;
- in Lithuania (2001-2005), 1 Jean Monnet European Centre of Excellence, 4 Jean Monnet Chairs, 5 courses, 4 modules.

In the Baltic States the areas of European integration covered by teaching were: law, economics, history, sociology, political sciences, human rights and rights of minorities, social policy, and management. In particular, a considerable number of Jean Monnet Chairs, courses and modules in Lithuania made European studies comprehensive in our country. In addition, Jean Monnet action worked in the two biggest cities covering big number of students in 4 of its 5 biggest universities of the country. This is a considerable result for a small country. It seems to me that in a relatively small country with limited human resources, such a program could especially play an important role. The Lithuanian academicians participating in the Jean Monnet Action also took part in preparing accession studies, reports and drafting legal acts in the process of approximation of Lithuanian law with the European Union law. We tried also to involve our students in studying the courses of the Jean Monnet chairs into the work of national euro-integration institutions for example in our analysis of compliance of national legislation, in preparing the studies concerning chapters of the accession negotiations. Some of them became later the specialists of the same institutions.

Jean Monnet action supported the establishment of the national European Community studies associations (the European Community Studies Associations) in 2001 (Estonia and Lithuania) and Latvia (2003). Our national associations became a part of an active and well-organized network of and from across the European Union studying the core areas of European Union law, economics and politics, sharing the knowledge not only of the European Union, but also comparing the experience in the accession process. Jean Monnet Action and the European Community Studies Associations gave a strong comparative element for European studies and research.

Another considerable aspect was that Jean Monnet Action and European Community Studies Association became appropriate forums for the European debate, especially concerning the European future. Naturally, the problems of the Constitutional Treaty became an important topic of our teaching. In Lithuania, the country which re-established its sovereignty after 46 years of foreign rule, the problems of transfer of sovereignty, delegation, sharing and division of competences, direct effect and supremacy of the European Community law etc., all these were really sensitive and important issues. The idea of national state, protecting national interests was very strong. The central question here was the future of state sovereignty, "post-integration sovereignty" which has clarified the confrontation between the protagonists of transfer and sharing of powers and competences, on one hand and, with state-centrism, on the other. The discussion whether the European Union will undermine or strengthen the powers of member states was not an abstract discussion.

One of the main topics of the studies and research was the problem of European governance. Here, the most popular was the concept of multi-level governance used by scholars of European integration (a kind of umbrella for European political and legal studies). It reflected the process of governance on European, national and sub-national levels. It was also a kind of reflection on the European modern state sharing its powers between centre and periphery, between national and supranational institutions. I would describe it as a multi-actor governance on European, national and sub-national levels, overlapping and interacting competencies on these levels. This is a complex concept which asked important questions. Anyway, in this system the decisions made through multi-level governance seem more legitimate than

decisions made through only one level of governance. Studies and research under the auspices of Jean Monnet Action promoted a debate on the legitimacy of the European Union, for example, whether it can be solely grounded in 'output legitimacy' (effectiveness, responsiveness) or it must also be grounded in 'input legitimacy' (representation, participation). It was a research of scientific explanations of the creation, evolution and functioning of the European Union. Jean Monnet Action at that time, especially in the context of the European Union accession and intense discussion on the future of the European Union promoted a large number of publications and PHD works devoted to the constitutional problems of the European Union.

In Lithuania, the beginning and development of the Jean Monnet Action coincided in time to the discussion on constitutional amendments related with the European Union accession. In fact, it was a long discussion started in 1997 and finished in 2004 after the accession with the adoption of the Constitutional Act on Membership in the European Union. I was a rapporteur of the group of experts of the Parliament on these amendments. Our work reflected not only the discussions in the Parliamentary commission, special seminars but also our studies and research under the auspices of the Jean Monnet Action. Finally, it seems to me that the Constitutional Act created clear constitutional norms of interrelation and interaction between national and European Union level. Article 1 of the Constitutional Act provided that Lithuania as a Member State "shall share with or confer on the European Union the competences of its State institutions in the areas provided for in the founding Treaties of the European Union", Article 2 stipulated that the European Union law shall be a constituent part of Lithuanian legal system. It also stipulated that where these arise from the founding Treaties of the European Union, the European Union norms shall be applied directly, while in the event of a collision between legal norms, the European Union norms shall have supremacy. Articles 3 and 4 governed the relations between the Parliament and the Government in respect to the proposals to adopt legal acts of the European Union.

In the perspective of the European Union accession the main question which attracted society was the promotion of national interests through the supranational level of the European Union. Of course, important work still remains to be done on strengthening explanatory powers of the European integration studies and improving

the level of understanding not only with regard to the students studying European integration matters but with regard to university studies in general.

When the Jean Monnet Action began in Lithuania, there had been already certain academic grounds for the European studies of law, economics and politics. At the Faculty of Law of Vilnius University, for instance, we started to teach a general course of the European Community law and special course on Human rights already in 1991, later we began a special course of Substantive law of the European Community. At the Faculty, the institutional structure had been already in place – Chair of International and European Union law and its two years program of studies in international and European Union law. When we contacted our colleagues dealing with European integration in other universities in order to create European Community Studies Association in Lithuania, we came to the conclusion that the basic situation was similar, first of all in Law University of Lithuania (now Mykolas Romeris University) and Kaunas University of Technology. As for Vilnius University, the Jean Monnet Action helped us a lot to bring the teaching and research in the European Union law on higher level, to make it comprehensive. The newly established Jean Monnet Chair of the European Union Law started to teach four courses: European Union Constitutional Law, Case-law of the European Court of Justice, Human Rights in Europe and Legal Problems of Accession of Lithuania to the European Union.

It is significant that the accession topics, especially the topics of the accession negotiations, were directly included into the teaching of the European law, economics and political sciences courses under Jean Monnet Action. In this sense, it was a dynamic teaching which followed the progress in negotiations, gave broad knowledge of the economic, legal and political problems of the accession. In my opinion, it was very useful, first of all for the law students, in the framework of their European Union law program: here the European Union law was not an abstract legal discipline. On the other hand, to some extent our task was facilitated by the high level, high degree of approximation of Lithuanian law with the European Union law. The norms of the "*acquis communautaire*" were, to a large extent, a part of national law already at that stage of accession process. To that extent, they were included into the teaching process of other more traditional legal disciplines: civil and commercial law, administrative law, labour law, environmental law, etc. On the other

hand, teaching law became much more complicated and detailed. Some areas became hardly teachable because of the multiplicity of acts of Parliament (statutes), regulations of the Government, ministerial decrees, etc. In some areas there was a lack of consolidation of legislation. We shall not forget that legislative culture in Lithuania took a very regulatory approach, excessively multiplying the number of legal acts, especially their amendments. On one hand, it was a necessary part of modernisation and europeization, on the other it became a part of a reformist legislative culture. From 1990 to mid April 2004, just before the accession, the Parliament enacted 582 eurointegrational statutes, including civil, administrative, criminal and other codes. Thousands of Government and ministerial decrees were adopted. It was a deep process of euro-integration and modernisation. The result was very positive: after the European Union accession on 1 May 2004, according to the Internal Market Directorate General's scoreboard, Lithuania achieved the best score in the European Union with regard to its level of transposition of internal market directives.

Judicial reforms totally created a new system of justice courts comprising the courts of first instance, district courts, the Court of Appeal and the Supreme Court. Administrative jurisdiction was transferred to the newly created system of administrative courts. The Constitution of 1992 established the Constitutional Court. As a comparison: whereas in 1990 in Lithuania there were about 150 judges, nowadays there are more than 800 judges.

Formal reference to the text of law – is it a sufficient justification or reasoning of the judgements? The traditional approach was that the task of judges was to apply statutes as they were written, without considering statutory purpose or legislative intents, and without attempting to apply statutes to changing circumstances. Today, the courts refer to general principles of law, to *travaux préparatoires*, they use the argument of evolution of a legal statute. There is a general trend to more openness on the level of justification. The biggest contribution to development of this tendency was made by the Constitutional Court. It was the Constitutional Court who first introduced in the case-law general principles of law coming from European constitutional traditions and developed by European Court of Justice and European Court of Human Rights. The principles of proportionality, legal certainty and protection of legitimate expectations, non-discrimination became a part of the case-

law of Lithuanian courts. Creation of a complex legal system of a modern democratic society led to a fundamental revision in the traditionally conceived relation between law and statute. Another element was a method of comparative constitutional jurisprudence broadly used by the Constitutional Court. The case-law of the European courts was applied in the judgements and rulings of Lithuanian courts, especially Constitutional and Supreme Court. 5 requests for preliminary rulings of the European Court of Justice were made from Lithuanian courts, including the Constitutional Court, also the courts of general and administrative jurisdiction. This step made by the Constitutional Court seems to me very significant – not only because the Court regarded itself inside the scope of the Community law and Article 234 EC, through admitting to be court in the meaning of Article 234 EC. In a broader sense it shows the openness of Lithuanian constitutional law and jurisprudence to the European Union law. It became a part of the process of constitutionalisation of Lithuanian legal system. All these elements were present in the teaching under the auspices of the Jean Monnet Action of European Union law, human rights, the case-law of the European Court of Justice.

Openness of the legal system was another result achieved during the period of 19 years since the re-establishment of independence. First of all the monistic model of the effect of international treaties created by the 1992 Constitution, the direct effect and application of the European Convention on Human Rights, the case-law of the Constitutional Court, the approximation with the European Union law and finally – the accession to the European Union – all these created the basis for the openness of the Lithuanian legal system. Studies of the European Union law under the auspices of the Jean Monnet Action in Lithuanian universities were also a great contribution to such openness, modernisation and europeization of the Lithuanian legal scholarship and, indirectly, of the legal system during the accession process.

Jiri Zemanek

Jean Monnet Chair at the Charles University in Prague; member of the Council on legislation of the Czech Government



FACILITATED TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY AND RULE OF LAW

The initial position

Mr *Tomas G. Masaryk*, the founder and the first President of Czechoslovakia (formerly Professor of sociology at Charles University) said at the end of his term of office (1918-1935): „We have democracy, but still no democrats. “ It is rather easier to implement institutional reforms than to (re)form the people.

In the 1990's after the collapse of the totalitarian regime, this target was more difficult than passing from the inferior position of the society as an ethnicum under the monarchy to an independent (multi)nation state in the 1920's. The recent transition was faced with more challenges of discontinuity, provoked by the globalization: a mere taking over of the established balanced western social model of liberal democracy (*Liberté*), rule of law (*Egalité*) and solidarity (*Fraternité*) became an illusion. This model was stable when it had been exposed to threats of totalitarianism, attacking its very existence. But, whenever this confrontation was dropped twenty years ago, no spontaneous self-sustaining perpetuity of the western social model occurred. In this respect the expectation of „the end of history“(*Francis Fukuyama*) appeared mistaken. Instead, the public area, necessary for materialization of civic

virtues as an essential fuel of democracy, has been to a large extent „colonized“ by driving forces of the „ever growing“ market. It seems, *Alexis de Toqueville* was right that the system of democratic government is the most vulnerable from inside: through the danger of tyranny by the majority - by „ethos“ of mass consumerism and its efficient manipulations through electronic communication. The former balance disappeared. Consequently, the current recession is manifestly not only an economic phenomenon, but, first, a crises of trust.

The new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe produced no alternative or at least an improved vision of society, in contrast to the *Prague Spring* of 1968, even when it had been limited to corrections within the *status quo* („socialism with a human face“). They were fragile and not immune against the speed encroachment of post-modernism upon the sphere of politics, getting the initial enthusiasm of the self-confident citizens estranged. Transnational capital investors anticipated their chance to easy returns by exploitation of the local sources in a milieu of large-scale privatization, low regulatory frames and weak supervisory authorities. The political control over economy by a rational discourse of national elites was getting illusory. New political parties had no time enough to constitute themselves as different representatives of a common sense competing with each other. Moreover, they started to play a role of „privatized“ dealers of interest groups in influence and political power, accompanied by corruption and clientelistic networks. Simply speaking, a mess (for the Czech Republic see the speech of President *Vaclav Havel* in the concert hall „Rudolfinum“ in October 1997, followed soon after by the fall down of the government of *Vaclav Klaus*).

At this critical moment an opportunity – even when still far away - to join the European Union, occurred: the Union as a chance to reinforce the lost balance of values by a collective action and to share the position of a global actor. The institutional as well as intellectual change of the Central and Eastern Europe societies obtained a solid footing. The dialectics of *Gilbert K. Chesterton* became real: a revolution cannot deliver liberal democracy; the foundations of the democratic order must be introduced, first, to enhance and cultivate the process of fundamental turn in the minds of the people (process never ending also in the western democracies...).

The renovation of the institutional and legal system in the Czech Republic as a would-be (candidate) member state, facilitated by the instruments and the funds of the EC-association as well as by the experience collected during earlier enlargements, advanced altogether successfully – from the perspective of „technology“ of this exercise. The general public was busy with many other developments and did not pay (much) attention to the gradual europeanisation of its social environment.

A lack of understanding (not of information about) the logics and particular steps of this manoeuvre and a gap in the concerned acceptance of its records by the people stood behind a political decision of the European Commission from mid 1990's to involve also the Czech academic community with its broad capacity of appearance at the public in this process and to invite university people to take part in the European studies, supported under the Jean Monnet Action. Several missions aimed by this decision may be identified:

- to raise attention to and knowledge of the operation of essential requirements for the democratic governance, respecting the rule of law, enjoying fundamental rights of men and citizens and observing the international obligations, as the very basis of social transformation;
- to make clear that the European institutional and legal system has been working towards the background of the same criteria, meeting of which is a pre-condition for the accession; the adoption of national implementation measures for a multitude of community legal acts and rules for their enforcement, technical standards, etc., assumes also a value-based approach to their internalization by society, in favour of their functionally equivalent application in practice;
- to foster the self-determination and responsibility universities should have to be aware of in the process of social transition;
- to strengthen the autonomous status of universities in their position towards business, state authorities and general public, as well as their skills of mutual communication in expertise affairs;
- to help to build up networks of academic cooperation open to learning the art of debate, cross-fertilization by exchange of reasoned opinions and reflection of partner's view in my own, by sharing the common and balancing the

specific individual standpoints in looking for „the academic unity in diversity“, by promoting collegial friendly relations of cooperation...

At that time, the Czech academic environment already had introduced European studies in its teaching and research focus. As for the legal studies, we organized in Prague – with the support by the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation - the first international conference on the approximation of the Czech legislation to the "*acquis communautaire*" in October 1991. The first book on the European Community was published in 1992. In January 1993 we started at the Faculty of Law Charles University the regular course on European law, followed soon by the 1st edition of the textbook and the volume of cases and materials. Pioneer work was also done in the translation of the European Community/European Union Treaties into Czech.

It is proper to remember the merits for the Jean Monnet Programme's extension to Central and Eastern Europe: due to the personal engagement of Mme *Jacqueline Lastenouse* and kind patronage of Mr *Emile Noël*, the European studies in the Czech Republic and other Central and Eastern European countries get strong impetus and orientation. But money was not the only contribution. We were impressed by the generosity of the evaluators, who assessed the applications from the Central and Eastern Europe candidate countries on equal grounds with the others, anticipating (at least at the very beginning without a tested experience) long term , not immediate returns. Such a bold reliance on decency of the people proved to be a good strategy soon: the European Union won in the Jean Monnet Programme's grantholders its trustworthy allies. This is apparent so far.

The impact of the European legal studies on legislation of the Czech Parliament

How was this support employed? What outcomes it brought about? Instead of statistical data or some loose generalizations I – as a lawyer – prefer to mention several personal examples that can give an idea of the tangible impact of the Jean Monnet Programme-European studies.

Soon after the conclusion of the Europe agreement on association to the European Communities, two possible alternative structures for decision-making in the agenda of association policy including legal approximation were debated in the government's gremia. The first model was based on the exemption of the whole European agenda (the expertise, drafting the measures, the communication with European institutions

a.o.) from all state bodies and its concentration in one specialized ministry. The advantage of this model was the more flexible and effective action, the disadvantage – the loss of close links to internal affairs. The second alternative preferred the diffused model of the existing ministries, responsible for the respective subject-matters, with a strong specialized unit for consultation, methodical and coordination, located within the office of the Government (Department for compatibility).

Our recommendation, based on comparative studies of this question from the European Union member states, favoured the latter solution, considering the more feasible passage it offers to the accession and beyond for the benefit of consistency of internal and European policies of the Czech Republic. The debate resulted in the second alternative, which proved itself during the accession negotiations and is appreciated today as the best choice.

During the rush time of catching up the targets of the legal approximation scheduled by the White Paper of the European Commission (I was already a member of the Council on Legislation of the Government), a proposal, spurred by the justification based on European studies, suggested to introduce in the Czech Constitution a special instrument – the governmental regulation with statutory legal force. The purpose was clear: to facilitate the legal approximation, where no discretion of the national legislator existed; the Parliament could within a limited period of time dismantle the governmental regulation without giving any reason. Nevertheless, the Parliament did not accept this proposal and reserved the whole responsibility for itself.

Another of our analysis recommended later to shape the focus of the parliamentary scrutiny over governmental mandates for the Council voting on draft European legislative acts into an earlier period of the European legislative procedure. It would allow the Czech Parliament to play a more substantive (indirect) role in the European law-making and to occupy a more informed position when transposing these acts (directives) into the Czech legal norms. The ratio of our proposal has been adopted and confirmed recently by the amendment act to the parliamentary procedures, which accompanied the consent of the Parliament to the ratification of the Treaty of Lisbon (including „imperative mandate“ in some issues).

The impact of the European legal studies on case law of the Czech Constitutional Court

After the European Union accession Czech judges were expected to act as „European judges“, applying the doctrine of full effectiveness of Community law under the principles of the primacy, the direct effect, the conformity interpretation of national rules and their setting aside in cases of conflict, the liability of the state for damage arising out of a breach of Community law as well as to communicate with the European Court of Justice through reference for preliminary rulings. Therefore, they were expected to depart from the tradition of the mechanical jurisprudence and statutory positivism, discouraging them from using abstract legal principles, teleological method of interpretation and comparative arguments in the legal reasoning. This traditional judicial ideology had relied on *Hans Kelsen's* hierarchy of force of legal norms, rather than on more subtle forms of persuasive authority, convincingness or acceptability of the court's judgement as – a. o. - a defence against „a legislative optimism“(an inclination to reflect the ever-changing social reality by new urgent complementary and amending legal regulation), which destabilises the legal order.

It was desirable to change the post-communist judicial ideology, hostile to discursive interaction with the parties to the dispute, which is more adequate to the needs of modern, rather complex legal systems like the European one.

The Czech Constitutional Court played a ground-breaking role in this respect. It referred to the common European legal culture already before the accession and continued later to promote democratic values of European law, that are „irradiating“ into the domestic constitutional systems. In its „European“judgments (on *European arrest warrant*, a. o.) the Court presumed that the Czech Parliament have legislated in compliance with the European law and rejected to derogate the implementation act. This self-restrained constitutional doctrine, serving as a guidance for ordinary courts and public administration, has been largely inspired by the lively academic discourse about the legal basis and emanations of European law within the Czech legal system.

This doctrine continued in *obiter dictum* of the *Lisbon I* case on preliminary review of compliance of The Treaty of Lisbon with the Czech Constitution (no Pl. US 19/08 of 26 November 2008). The Court reconsidered the old concept of state sovereignty,

which cannot be understood in a static way any more, but rather as capacity of a supreme authority to dispose of (to confer, to withdraw) its exclusive power. The Court also cleared „the material core“ of the Constitution as a reservation, which could be - quite exceptionally - pronounced against an *ultra vires* act of the Union or an act violating „essential requirements for a democratic state governed by the rule of law“. Even when subjected by a failed remedy at the European level, the latter conclusion was criticised by some commentators.

The second petition for constitutional review of the Treaty of Lisbon

On 3 November 2009 the Czech Constitutional Court decided on the case *Lisbon II* (Pl. US 29/09), initiated by a group of 17 Senators, who used the remedy still open by the *Lisbon I* case.

The strategy chosen by the petitioners was the following: they produced a self-made definition of „the sovereign democratic rule of law-State“, allegedly missing in the constitutional jurisprudence and the doctrine. On this basis they assessed the Treaty as a whole, as well as a couple of its individual provisions, as contradicting with the Czech Constitution, in particular by:

- an extreme complexity of the reform Treaty, undermining legal certainty
- the incapacity of the European Parliament to compensate the „deficit of democracy“
- the absence of an imperative mandate of the Czech Parliament for all legislative decisions of the Union
- the non-neutral formulation of the Union’s objectives allegedly based on ideology („social market economy“, „full employment“ etc.)
- no clear exclusion of any federative finality of the Union
- the suspension of membership rights under Art. 7 TEU-Lis, based on vague terms
- a special relationship with neighbouring countries (Art. 8 TEU-Lis)
- the principle of representative democracy (Art. 10 TEU-Lis), incompatible with the status of an international organisation, founded on sovereign equality of its member states
- the promotion of the general interest of the Union by the Commission (Art. 17 TEU-Lis), the European commitment of which was said to be not

neutral, discriminatory requirement for nominees not sharing „the European ideology“

- the enhanced cooperation (Art. 20 TEU-Lis), limiting the right to cooperate without the Union's approval
- the governance at the global level (Art. 21 TEU-Lis), being politically not neutral
- the common defence as an objective (Art. 42 TEU-Lis), contrary to the right of self-determination of people
- the withdrawal from the Union (Art. 50 TEU-Lis), not pressure free
- the Union decision-taking in immigration affaires (Arts. 78-79 TFEU)
- the declaration of the European Council on the guarantees for Ireland as a separate international treaty, requiring 3/5 majority approval by the Czech Parliament before its ratification
- the exclusive competence of the Union as such, since its non-execution by the Union would amount to *denegatio* of public power vis-a-vis the citizens at the national level
- the Union competence in criminal matters and implied external powers
- the Union citizenship and legal personality as the symptoms of a federation
- the key for distribution of seats in the European Parliament, being contrary to equality among member states (Germany 12,6 % v. Luxembourg 0,8 %) as well as among citizens
- the competence of the European Court of Justice, prejudicing an independent preliminary review of compliance of international treaties with the Czech Constitution by the Czech Constitutional Court.

Such a total disregarding of fundamental principles of European law, of membership obligations etc. evidenced the only reason of the petition: to obstruct the ratification of The Treaty of Lisbon.

The Czech Constitutional Court rejected a part of these objections as inadmissible („apparently unjustified“) for being out of scope of its jurisdiction, the other part as *res iudicata* with reference to its *Lisbon I* judgment. The reaction of the vast majority of

commentators from the field of the European legal studies was unambiguously consonant.

The petition against the „Lisbon“ amendment of parliamentary scrutiny on European laws

The reinforced rules, seeking to satisfy requirements of democratic control of the implementation of The Treaty of Lisbon by the Czech Parliament, had been challenged by a petition for annulment submitted by the same group of Senators, demanding to obtain also an express confirmation of the guarantees of national sovereignty for the time after the entry into force of this Treaty (no Pl. US 26/09).

On 6 October 2009 the Czech Constitutional Court rejected this petition as „apparently unjustified“ on the following grounds:

- There is no reason to replace simple majority by a qualified (3/5) majority in parliamentary preliminary scrutiny of governmental positions on application of the general bridging (“passerelle”) clause (Art. 48 para. 7 TEU-Lis), since the proposed extension of the ordinary legislative procedure or the qualified majority voting in the Council does not entail the transfer of any new competence on the Union. The same is true concerning the special bridging clause (Art. 81 para. 3 d/ TFEU) enabling the extension of ordinary legislative procedure on some aspects of family law, because the parliamentary approval is required in a negative way: the Parliament is expected to vote only on a refusal, not on an approval of the draft act and the existing voting mode makes the protection more easy than the mode proposed by the petitioners.
- The principle of democracy (Art. 1 para 1 and Art. 6 Const.) does not require to cut the minimum number of Members of Parliament necessary for initiating an action to the European Court of Justice in subsidiarity matters, as erroneously assumed by the petitioners (3 instead of 41 or 17); the needed higher number of Members of Parliament has the rational ground and does not deprive the minorities of the essence of their right of protection.
- The reasons above, based on *prima facie* findings that the arguments delivered by the petitioners did not amount to intensity and quality of a

constitutional conflict, resulted in the conclusion about “the apparently unjustified” petition without starting judicial proceedings *in rem*. Therefore, the Court did not need to wait for opinions of other parties – chambers of the Parliament.

- The same conclusion was drawn concerning the demanded express confirmation of the limits of transfer of competences, listing of the minimum scope of powers of a sovereign state, the position of the Czech Republic as a „master of the Treaties“ forever, the necessity to extend imperative mandate for all legislative decisions, the restrictive interpretation of Union law and of the role of the Czech Constitutional Court as an ultimate guardian of the Czech Constitution required by the petitioners, too, the respective amendment the Act on the Constitutional Court, etc. The Court has no jurisdiction to pronounce mere interpretative declarations, having no immediate concern to the merit. This is an inadmissible concern for the proceedings in question.

It remains to say that this decision gained full support among Czech „European“lawyers.

The objection of the Czech President against the European Union Charter of Fundamental Rights.

After his call with Swedish Prime-Minister *Fredrik Reinfeldt* on 8 October and meeting with President of the European Parliament *Jerzy Buzek* on 9 October, the Czech President *Vaclav Klaus* announced, that „Before the ratification [of The Treaty of Lisbon], the Czech Republic must at any rate in addition negotiate a similar exception [from the application of the Charter of Fundamental Rights, as Poland and the United Kingdom did]. In this way a guarantee will be given to us that The Treaty of Lisbon cannot lead to a break-through of the so-called Benes’ decrees [from 1940-1946 on property confiscations mostly of *Sudetendeutschen*].”

He justified his requirement by a fear that “[...] the Court of Justice will review the compliance of legislation, practices and procedures of Member States with this Charter. It will make possible to circumvent Czech courts and to assert immediately at the Court of Justice for instance property claims of people expelled after World

War II. The Charter enables even to review valid decisions of Czech courts.” He did not specify the form, in which his requirement should have to be enacted.

This requirement was attempting to resist an inventive interpretation of European law. Its non-retroactivity is generally accepted. But, Union citizens allegedly might claim at any national court their rights granted by the Charter (he expressly mentioned Art. 17 – right to property) in so far as their non-discriminatory status under the Treaty had been violated by a member state. The Czech legislation on *restitution of property* (confiscated during the communist regime) from early 1990’, conditioning individual claims by the Czech nationality, was reminded. The European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg found this legislation not in contradiction with the ECHR, for which the condition of nationality is irrelevant (cases *Des Fours Walderode, Harrach, Gratzinger, Polacek, Pinc*, a.o.) - in contrast to the findings of the United Nations Committee on Human Rights. Czech courts have the duty to recognize and enforce decisions of national courts of other Member States in civil law matters (reference was made to the regulation no. 44/2001). Petitions from the member states to the European Commission concerning Czech restitution affairs were mentioned, too. The petitioners often use the tactic of questioning the – of the time - legality of application of the Benes’ decrees as the legal foundation for confiscations by *actio negatoria* and then sue for *vindicatio* under the legislation on restitution of property or simply the civil law in force, towards the background of declared continuity of their property rights.

President *Klaus* neither expressed a reservation against the Charter when delegating to the Government the power to negotiate and sign the Treaty of Lisbon in late 2007, nor he mentioned the Benes’ decrees in his brief to the Constitutional Court during the preliminary constitutional review of the Treaty of Lisbon.

The Czech Constitutional Court already analyzed thoroughly compliance of the entire Charter towards the reference criteria of the Czech constitutional order on the occasion of its *Lisbon I* judgment and came to the conclusion that there are no contradictions between the both.

The awareness of the Benes’ decrees became topical later, during the parliamentary debates on The Treaty of Lisbon last February. The consent of the Assembly of Deputies to the ratification of the Treaty (given by more than 3/5 majority of all

Members of Parliament) was accompanied by a resolution, supporting the opinion, that “[T]he legal status of the Charter guarantees, without any doubts, that the Charter cannot be effective in a retroactive way and question legal and property relationships arising from the Czechoslovak legislation, in particular, adopted within the period 1940-1946, as well as the existing case law of European and national courts on these legal and property issues.”

A couple of advisory opinions invited by the European institutions (*Ulf Bernitz, Jochen A. Frowein and Lord Kingsland, Christian Tomuschat, a.o.*), by the Czech authorities (the President of the Assembly of Deputies, the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Government, the Committee on European Affairs of the Senate) and by other bodies¹ confirmed the non-retroactivity of European law and the passing-by of its subject-matter with the Benes’ decrees.

The Benes’ decrees presumed “state untrustworthiness” as a criterion for confiscations of property of Germans, Hungarians and other persons, who allegedly acted during the time of “lack of freedom” (occupation by the repressive regime of Nazi-Germany) against national interest (territorial integrity) of Czechoslovakia. All persons, affected by the Benes’ decrees, had the right to prove their innocence. If they had been in the post-war disorder deprived of this right or treated illegally, they have - under specific circumstances, but on equal footing, regardless of their nationality - the access to Czech justice, which shall review and – as the case may be – redress their status. The principle of non-discrimination on grounds of nationality under Art. 21 of the Charter changes nothing in *locus standi* of Union citizens at Czech courts and administration.

Everyone’s equality before the law (Art. 20 Charter) has not an absolute, but a relative nature: a different treatment may be justified by an objective reason (only). The “state untrustworthiness”, used as a criterion by the Benes’ decrees and approved by the Allies at the conference in Potsdam 1945, cannot be questioned at present as such. Only the “objectively justified” past application of this criterion can be made - in an exceptional individual case - subject to the judicial review by a Czech court and towards the Czech legal standard, preceding the European

Convention of Human Rights - and the European Union accession. The valid judgment can be reviewed by the European Court of Human Rights only towards the rules on fair trial. It cannot be reviewed by the European Court of Justice towards the principle of equality, so far as a link with European law (or its implementation at national level) is missing: Art. 345 of The Treaty on Functioning of the European Union (Art. 295 TEC) does not prejudice the rules in the member states governing the system of property ownership (including restitution of property).

This Union *status quo* has been already available on the basis of general principles of law and the case law of the European Court of Justice. The Charter does respect the limit of powers conferred on the Union and does not extend any property claims to the prejudice of the Benes' decrees. Therefore, there was no legal reason to require an additional protocol to The Treaty of Lisbon on an exception from the application of the Charter. The political stipulation by the European Council of 29 October 2009, followed by the legally binding attachment to the next treaty on accession, is superfluous.

Final remark

The remarks above wanted to demonstrate, how uneasy, but exciting has been the task of those who boarded the European legal studies in (one of) the Central and Eastern Europe countries with the Jean Monnet Program. I may summarize that this alliance proved well.

¹ The contributions by *Christian Tomuschat* and *Jiri Zemanek*, in: Ist das tschechische Rechtssystem bereits EU-konform?, from the colloquium, held by *Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung e.V.* in Prague on 3 May 2001.

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20 ANS DE TRANSFORMATION DANS L'EUROPE CENTRALE ET DE L'EST: L'ACTION JEAN MONNET - INSTRUMENT POUR L'ADHESION A L'UNION EUROPEENNE

J'ai l'honneur et le plaisir de réfléchir avec vous sur les avantages du Programme Jean Monnet à l'occasion de la célébration du 20^{ème} anniversaire de la Fondation Jean Monnet. Je suis le représentant de la Chaire Jean Monnet d'un pays qui n'est pas encore devenu Etat membre de l'Union européenne, mais qui aspire à une prochaine adhésion. Il nous reste encore un pas, un tout petit pas... à faire et j'espère sincèrement que ce pas se fera dans un très proche avenir.

Il y a cinq mois que la Croatie est devenue membre de l'Organisation du Traité de l'Atlantique Nord. Actuellement, elle est en train de finaliser les négociations d'adhésion à l'Union européenne. Ces faits mettent en lumière le succès de la Croatie sur le plan de la politique étrangère au cours d'une année où on célèbre les anniversaires de grands événements, très importants pour l'histoire de l'intégration européenne:

- le 20^{ème} anniversaire de la chute du mur de Berlin,
- le 5^{ème} anniversaire de l'adhésion à l'Union européenne de dix nouveaux États membres, de huit pays de l'Europe Centrale et de l'Europe de l'Est et de deux pays de la Méditerranée – Malte et Chypre,
- le 60^{ème} anniversaire de l'Organisation du Traité de l'Atlantique Nord.

La chute du mur de Berlin a provoqué toute une série de processus de transformation dans les ex-pays socialistes et communistes de l'Europe Centrale et de l'Europe de l'Est, ce qui a complètement changé l'image de l'Europe qu'on avait

autrefois. L'Union Européenne a été créée par la volonté des peuples européens, dans le but de mettre fin aux guerres, d'unifier le continent et de surmonter les différences culturelles qui ont provoqué des conflits dans le passé. Le processus d'unification européenne avait débuté après la Seconde Guerre mondiale en Europe occidentale, ensuite il y a eu des élargissements qui ont intégré les anciens ennemis de la Guerre froide. Les élargissements de 2004 et 2007 représentent une chance historique de mettre fin à la division artificielle du continent européen.

L'élargissement à l'est a permis à l'Union européenne de sauvegarder le caractère authentique d'une communauté composée de différents États membres et de différents peuples, d'une communauté fondée sur des bases solides, sur des valeurs communes – la liberté, la démocratie et la paix. Le grand élargissement de 2004, dont on célèbre le cinquième anniversaire cette année, a renforcé l'Union européenne dans sa diversité, ayant intégré les intérêts nationaux, les traditions, les modes de penser et les multiples cultures des peuples européens, lesquels ont pourtant des liens très forts: l'appartenance au continent européen ainsi qu'à la même civilisation, à la même histoire.

L'Union européenne a développé une politique de conditionnalité pour tous les pays qui avaient déposé la demande d'adhésion. Ils devaient remplir les critères d'adhésion. En premier lieu, ils devaient poursuivre les réformes nécessaires et rejoindre les standards européens minimums, pratiquement dans tous les aspects de la société. Par l'application de la politique de conditionnement ainsi que par l'adoption de la démocratie et des acquis communautaires dans les nouveaux États membres, l'Union Européenne a contribué à renforcer le principe de la démocratie, du respect des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales ainsi que le respect du droit et l'économie de marché. C'est ainsi qu'elle a assuré dans les nouveaux États membres une sécurité qui existait déjà dans les pays de l'Europe occidentale. C'est à quoi la Croatie aspire. Pour toutes ces raisons, l'Union européenne est caractérisée aujourd'hui par une intégration économique et sociale qui n'était pas imaginable dans le passé.

Les défis du monde d'aujourd'hui, provoqués par les phénomènes globaux, surmontent les intérêts des États. L'Union européenne élargie, offrant le cadre pour une action coordonnée, est capable de faire face aux défis. En outre, chaque

élargissement jusqu'à présent, a contribué à la stabilité politique et au progrès de l'Union européenne et de ses États membres. Avec environ 500 millions d'habitants, l'Union européenne représente aujourd'hui le plus grand espace économique intégré au monde, qui enregistre à peu près 30% du PIB mondial et plus de 17% du commerce mondial (sans compter les échanges dans le cadre de l'Union européenne). En moins de dix ans, les échanges commerciaux entre les "vieux" États membres et les nouveaux États membres de l'Union européenne ont triplé. Les échanges ont augmenté de 175 milliards d'euros en 1999 à environ 500 milliards d'euros en 2007.

Pour les nouveaux États membres, l'élargissement de l'Union européenne a représenté l'élévation du niveau de vie, l'accélération de la croissance économique, la réduction du chômage, l'amélioration du commerce, le renforcement de la compétitivité, et autres. Mais le succès du cinquième élargissement est beaucoup plus important de ce qu'on peut déduire d'après les statistiques économiques. L'élargissement de l'Union européenne a contribué à la consolidation de la démocratie, de la sécurité et de la stabilité en Europe. Tous ces éléments ont créé la force principale de l'Union européenne. En ce sens, elle représente un modèle, un idéal, pour la Croatie ainsi que pour le reste du monde.

Bien que le projet d'unification européenne ait entièrement justifié son existence et qu'aujourd'hui l'Union européenne soit considérée comme un projet d'intégration qui a eu un grand succès, ayant garanti à ses habitants la stabilité et la prospérité, je pense que du point de vue actuel on peut considérer l'Union européenne comme un projet réalisé avec succès mais quand même un projet inachevé. Un projet inachevé parce que les pays de l'Europe du Sud-est, c'est-à-dire les Balkans occidentaux, ne sont pas encore devenus membres. Pourtant, ce sont des pays qui appartiennent à la tradition européenne et qui ont le droit, du point de vue géographique, historique et moral, de participer à ce projet commun de l'Europe unie. Permettez-moi de souligner que cette tâche historique est aussi importante que l'unification de l'Europe occidentale et de l'Europe de l'Est.

Le Sommet de Zagreb qui a eu lieu à la fin de l'année 2000, a encouragé les relations des pays de la région avec l'Union européenne. À ce moment-là la région est devenue pour la première fois le sujet de négociations constructives. On était

arrivé à la conclusion que l'adhésion à l'Union dépendrait des efforts faits par chaque État. De cette manière, l'Union européenne a offert à la région une opportunité. La Croatie était le premier pays qui a profité de cette opportunité. Elle a signé l'Accord de stabilisation et d'association. C'est ainsi que le statut de candidat fut accordé à la Croatie au cours de l'année 2004. Il y a presque quatre ans que les négociations d'adhésion avec l'Union européenne sont en cours. Les autres pays de la région n'ont pas suivi la Croatie qui a poursuivi son chemin vers l'Union européenne et qui a mis en œuvre les réformes lesquelles sont imminentes pour les autres pays de la région. La Macédoine a obtenu le statut de pays candidat, mais le début des négociations d'adhésion a été reporté. Le Monténégro a déposé sa demande d'adhésion à l'Union européenne à la fin de l'année dernière, alors que l'Albanie au mois d'avril de cette année. Un processus et un programme exigeant attendent encore la Serbie, la Bosnie-Herzégovine ainsi que le Kosovo.

Avec les nombreux problèmes qui sont devenus globaux, comme le réchauffement global, le terrorisme global, la crise financière et économique globale ainsi que la crise énergétique, il semble que l'Europe du Sud-Est n'est qu'un sujet parmi d'autres qui figure à l'agenda européen. Mais quoi que ce soit, la Croatie et les autres pays des Balkans occidentaux font partie du projet européen lequel attend son achèvement. Dans cette perspective, il est très important de poursuivre le chemin vers l'intégration européenne, pas seulement pour avoir un avenir prospère, mais aussi parce que c'est le chemin qui encourage les réformes structurelles qui se posent à la région. Je suis persuadé que l'Europe va reconnaître ces faits et que la Croatie ainsi que les autres pays de la région deviendront membres de l'Union européenne.

Afin d'aider les pays de la région sur leur chemin vers l'Europe, la Croatie cherche à transmettre son expérience liée aux réformes et aux négociations d'adhésion. Pour cette raison, la Croatie a signé des protocoles d'accord liés à l'intégration européenne avec tous les pays de la région. Cela a créé un cadre institutionnel pour aider les pays de la région sur leur chemin européen. J'espère que cette initiative sera renforcée dans le futur et je suis persuadé que nos voisins profiteront énormément de notre savoir-faire.

La Croatie, en tant que leader dans la région, représente pour l'Union européenne une valeur ajoutée importante sur le plan stratégique. La stabilité et la prospérité en Croatie représentent une "locomotive" pour la stabilité et la prospérité dans la région de l'Europe du Sud-Est. Le succès de la Croatie montrera que cela vaut la peine de poursuivre les standards européens, surtout parce que on peut considérer que la Croatie est un exemple réussi de transition en Europe post-Guerre froide. Il y a presque deux décennies, les villes croates étaient détruites par la guerre, mais aujourd'hui la Croatie est membre de l'Organisation du Traité de l'Atlantique Nord et il lui reste à terminer les négociations d'adhésion pour devenir État membre de l'Union européenne. Accueillant la Croatie dans la famille européenne, l'Union européenne participe à ce projet réussi.

La Croatie a été aidée et soutenue par les pays qui sont devenus États membres de l'Union européenne en 2004 et 2007. Maintenant c'est à la Croatie d'indiquer le chemin à suivre aux pays de la région. Les critères d'adhésion à l'Union européenne ont été changés par rapport aux critères qui étaient en vigueur au cours des élargissements précédents. Pour cette raison, notre expérience est très précieuse pour les pays de l'Europe du Sud-Est. Nous sommes prêts à partager nos expériences avec eux. C'est dans notre meilleur intérêt que les pays de la région deviennent membres de l'Union européenne et que les frontières externes de l'Union européenne et de l'espace Schengen ne s'arrêtent pas à nos frontières.

Parallèlement à la mise en œuvre des réformes, la Croatie déploie tous ses efforts pour harmoniser la législation croate avec les acquis communautaires de l'Union européenne. Dans ce domaine, une grande partie du travail est terminée. Mais comme vous le savez déjà, la Slovénie a provisoirement bloqué les négociations d'adhésion de la Croatie à l'Union européenne. Cependant, mis à part la solution de ce problème, l'État a continué à travailler sur l'exécution des obligations et sur la mise en œuvre des réformes avec la même intensité et la même détermination qu'avant. En tous cas, nous sommes optimistes à l'égard du futur développement des activités liées aux désaccords frontaliers avec la Slovénie. Je suis persuadé que les négociations vont continuer prochainement et qu'on va avancer rapidement, comme la Croatie et l'Union européenne l'avaient prévu. Malgré l'actuel arrêt des négociations, il est nécessaire d'en respecter les termes afin de conclure les négociations (fin 2009), pour plusieurs raisons:

- il s'agit des engagements pris par l'Union européenne et par la Croatie
- les termes des négociations représentent un encouragement à la mise en œuvre des réformes exigeantes
- il s'agit d'un projet pilote qui sera appliqué dans les autres pays de la région lesquels vont rejoindre l'Union européenne.

Pourtant, malgré les remarques optimistes, il faut être réaliste. L'Union européenne n'est plus aussi favorable à l'élargissement comme elle l'était il y a quelques années. Les raisons ne sont pas seulement de caractère général, comme par exemple une certaine saturation à l'égard de l'élargissement. Les raisons sont concrètes et elles se rapportent à l'actuelle crise globale - économique et financière, ainsi qu'aux problèmes liés à la ratification du traité de Lisbonne, ainsi qu'aux autres questions qui se trouvent quotidiennement à l'ordre du jour de l'Union européenne. Malgré tout, la Croatie a réussi à assurer sa position et à obtenir le soutien de tous les États membres. Aujourd'hui, quand on parle de l'élargissement de l'Union européenne, l'adhésion de la Croatie est la seule sur laquelle on ne doute pas. Pour la Croatie, il est très important de se concentrer sur l'adhésion à l'Union européenne parce que c'est la seule manière de maintenir le soutien public et politique nécessaire pour mettre en œuvre les réformes, complexes et douloureuses, lesquelles représentent les conditions préalables pour devenir État membre de l'Union européenne dans le futur, mais aussi pour le bien-être économique et social de ses citoyens.

L'enseignement, et surtout l'enseignement supérieur, joue un rôle crucial dans le cadre du développement de l'économie fondée sur le savoir. Sa mission est celle de préparer l'individu pour le marché du travail, pour la vie active de citoyens qui exercent leurs droits démocratiques et pour le développement individuel, ainsi que pour l'entretien et le développement des bases scientifiques. L'enseignement est crucial pour le développement durable de la société: c'est un processus continu qui encourage les changements sociaux, l'intégration des objectifs intra-sectoriels, le développement humain, la création des opportunités pour les individus, pour la société et pour la vie économique, ainsi que le développement de la responsabilité globale. Les programmes de recherche actuels de l'Union européenne, étroitement liés à la réalisation des objectifs de la Stratégie de Lisbonne, sont concentrés sur les innovations et sur les connaissances nécessaires pour la croissance, ainsi que sur la création d'un espace unique du savoir. Les priorités du programme sont la

coopération transnationale dans le cadre de domaines déterminés, le développement des idées, ainsi que l'investissement dans les ressources humaines ce qui comprend aussi le rapprochement entre les sciences et la société.

Dans une société mondialisée, devenue de plus en plus incertaine, les universités essaient d'être compétitives, de faire partie de la société, tenant compte des attentes croissantes de la société et de l'explosion des connaissances. L'enseignement supérieur s'est fixé comme objectif d'intégrer le plus grand nombre d'individus possible dans différents programmes de formation afin de développer véritablement une société fondée sur le savoir. En ce sens, les programmes de l'Union européenne, comme le Programme Jean Monnet, jouent un rôle très important.

Les universités ont leur rôle de formation et de recherche, mais elles sont aussi importantes parce qu'elles contribuent au développement de la société et à la formation de la pensée critique. La société a besoin des universités pour répondre aux exigences publiques, pour gérer l'héritage culturel et pour diffuser la culture et les sciences, en prenant en considération non seulement les aspects du marché mais aussi les aspects sociaux, politiques et éthiques. Les universités doivent être aussi un facteur important du point de vue des activités qui contribuent au développement de la société et de l'individu; par exemple à travers la stimulation d'un plus grand engagement des étudiants et d'autres citoyens dans le secteur de la culture, du sport et de la responsabilité sociale. Tous ces éléments sont d'une extrême importance pour les activités par lesquelles l'intégration européenne veut se rapprocher des citoyens européens et croates. L'Université de Rijeka a reconnu tous ces faits et il y a des années qu'elle soutient l'idée de l'éducation des étudiants et du grand public sur les questions liées à l'histoire, au développement et au fonctionnement de l'Union européenne ainsi qu'au chemin que la Croatie doit poursuivre vers l'intégration européenne et vers un futur commun.

À l'initiative de "mon humble personne", la Chaire Jean Monnet en intégration européenne Rijeka a été fondée en 2003, avec le soutien de la Commission européenne, ayant l'objectif ambitieux de rapprocher l'Union européenne des citoyens croates, mais aussi d'autres intéressés. La Faculté d'Économie de Rijeka a proposé de nouveaux cours et a mis en place de nouveaux programmes, alors que la Chaire a organisé plusieurs séminaires et tables rondes, l'École internationale

d'été (qui se déroule au mois de juillet de chaque année) ainsi que des conférences scientifiques internationales (la Conférence Internationale «Intégrations économiques, concurrence et coopération»). Notre Chaire Jean Monnet a été la première en Croatie, et elle est encore toujours la seule qui s'occupe en premier lieu des aspects économiques de l'intégration européenne. L'année dernière l'université a fondé la Chaire Jean Monnet dans le domaine des sciences juridiques, alors qu'à l'Université de Zagreb il y a deux Chaires Jean Monnet qui s'occupent des études du droit de l'Union européenne.

La Faculté d'Économie de Rijeka a été la première faculté de l'Université de Rijeka et l'une des premières en République de Croatie à introduire des programmes comprenant l'étude de l'intégration européenne. Ces dix dernières années, le cours "Économie de l'Europe" a été suivi par environ 1000 étudiants de notre faculté, dont une cinquantaine a rédigé la thèse sur ce domaine. C'est un domaine de recherche qui suscite un grand intérêt parmi nos étudiants. C'est un cours qui est devenu le point de départ dans le cadre du développement de nouveaux programmes liés aux études de l'intégration européenne.

L'introduction du processus de Bologne en Croatie, à partir de l'année académique 2005-2006, a facilité les efforts de notre Chaire dans le cadre du développement de nombreux nouveaux programmes de qualité élevée destinés aux étudiants de Rijeka. En 2006 nous avons mis en place un programme postuniversitaire, le Mastère Spécialisé «Gestion avec l'Union européenne», fréquenté jusqu'à maintenant par 35 étudiants. Avant d'organiser ce Mastère Spécialisé, les thèmes liés aux intégrations européennes étaient étudiés dans le cadre des cours postuniversitaires «Management» et «Économie Internationale». L'année dernière l'université a mis en place un programme spécial - «Économie de l'Union européenne», lequel comprend des cours étroitement liés à l'intégration économique européenne: «Macroéconomie dans l'UE», «Politiques microéconomiques dans l'Union européenne», «Politique régionale et politique sociale de l'Union européenne», «Gestion des affaires avec l'Union européenne», «Politique monétaire de l'Union européenne». Les cours «Microsystème de l'Union européenne» (Bachelor) et «Microsystème de l'Union européenne» (Mastère) (inclus dans les autres programmes de la Faculté d'Économie), rapprochent cette matière des étudiants. C'est le point de départ pour le développement ultérieur de la Chaire.

Jusqu'à maintenant, dans ce domaine nous avons eu 4 doctorats. Récemment nous avons réussi à mettre en œuvre des programmes de doctorat lesquels comprennent aussi la possibilité d'étudier l'intégration économique européenne. On s'attend à former de nouveaux experts dans ce domaine lesquels vont continuer notre mission de diffusion des connaissances sur l'intégration européenne. Malgré beaucoup de volonté et d'enthousiasme, tout cela aurait été impossible sans le soutien de la Commission européenne ou plus exactement du Programme Jean Monnet.

La Chaire a réalisé la diffusion des connaissances sur l'Europe, à travers de nombreux séminaires, conférences et tables rondes qui ont eu lieu dans notre faculté, mais aussi ailleurs – dans notre région, dans le reste du pays, mais aussi dans les pays voisins. Les conférences ont été organisées en collaboration avec l'association ALUMNI (Association des économistes de Rijeka), le Lions Club et le Rotary Club, afin de rapprocher les questions européennes du grand public. Les conférences destinées aux étudiants du reste de la Croatie ont eu lieu à Dubrovnik, Zadar, Zagreb et Split, ainsi qu'à Mostar, Banja Luka et Sarajevo en Bosnie-Herzégovine. Naturellement, pour organiser toutes ces conférences nous avons eu besoin de l'aide de plusieurs ministères croates, de l'administration locale et régionale ainsi que d'autres institutions et des personnes concernées. Avec leur aide nous avons promulgué les idées sur l'Europe parmi les étudiants, les entrepreneurs, mais aussi dans le grand public. Nous étions ouverts et prêts à collaborer avec nos collègues de Slovénie, d'Italie, de Belgique et d'Hongrie. La création de l'École internationale d'été «Entourage International et Intégrations Européennes» en 2005 a rencontré un vif succès.

L'École internationale d'été, reconnue par la Commission européenne, laquelle lui a offert le soutien et l'aide financière, a encouragé la diffusion des connaissances sur l'intégration européenne parmi nos étudiants ainsi que parmi les étudiants du monde entier. L'École internationale d'été rassemble environ 165 étudiants de 30 pays. Les étudiants le plus nombreux sont les étudiants de l'Europe de l'Est et de l'Europe du Sud-Est, mais il y en a de Norvège, Taiwan et du Mexique! Le programme académique a été présenté par des experts européens (Hongrie, Belgique, Slovénie, République Tchèque et Grèce), pour la plus grande partie des titulaires des Chaires Jean Monnet, ainsi que par des experts croates provenant de plusieurs universités croates, de différents ministères, de la Banque nationale de Croatie et d'autres

institutions. Un élément particulièrement important était la présence des entrepreneurs qui s'occupent de la gestion des entreprises croates présentes sur le marché international. Ils ont décrit aux étudiants les circonstances actuelles et les conditions du rapprochement de la Croatie du grand marché européen.

À côté de l'École Internationale d'Été, directement liée à l'intégration européenne, notre réputation dans le monde a été propagée par la Conférence Internationale «Intégrations économiques, concurrence et coopération», laquelle se déroule tous les deux ans, à partir de 1997. Elle s'est développée dans le cadre de notre Chaire, avec l'aide des ministères croates et naturellement, de la Commission européenne, dont les représentants étaient régulièrement présents.

La première conférence internationale «Système économique de l'Union européenne et adaptation de la République de Croatie» a été organisée en 1997, à Lovran, tout près d'Opatija. Après avoir obtenu la garantie de l'intégrité territoriale, il était clair que pour la République de Croatie, la seule alternative à long terme était l'adhésion de la Croatie aux processus d'intégration du continent européen. La générale méconnaissance de ce processus en Croatie a imposé la nécessité d'échanges internationaux afin de bénéficier des expériences avec les États membres, mais aussi avec les pays qui avaient à l'époque déposé leur candidature pour devenir membre de l'Union européenne. Par conséquent la Faculté d'Économie de l'Université de Trieste en Italie apparaît à côté de la Faculté d'Économie de l'Université de Rijeka comme organisateur de la première Conférence Internationale. L'importance de cette conférence était dès le début reconnue par les institutions académiques et les coorganisateurs – la Commission européenne, le Ministère de la Recherche, de l'Éducation nationale et des Sports de la République de Croatie, le Ministère de l'Économie, du Travail et de l'Entrepreneuriat de la République de Croatie et le Ministère des Finances de la République de Croatie. Au cours de la conférence, qui s'est déroulée au mois d'avril 1997, les participants ont présenté plus de 40 exposés les 25 articles publiés sont devenus une littérature scientifique obligatoire dans le domaine de l'intégration européenne. Les 73 participants ont exprimé leur satisfaction quant à l'organisation et ils ont encouragé l'organisation d'ultérieures conférences internationales. Au cours de la deuxième Conférence Internationale qui a eu lieu en 1999 et au cours de la troisième

Conférence Internationale qui a eu lieu en 2001, les participants ont présenté 118 exposés, alors que 84 articles ont été publiés dans les actes du colloque.

La quatrième Conférence Internationale qui a eu lieu au mois de mai 2003 à Opatija («Système économique de l'Union européenne et adhésion de la République de Croatie»), a été caractérisée par la mise en œuvre concrète de la Chaire Jean Monnet, à travers le cofinancement de la Commission européenne laquelle s'était engagée dans sa réalisation, ainsi que par la participation à l'organisation de la Faculté d'Économie de l'Université de Lubiana en Slovénie. Le concept du programme et les unités d'organisation ont changé en partie. Les 106 participants de la quatrième Conférence Internationale ont présenté 76 exposés, alors que 52 articles ont été publiés dans les Actes du colloque «Theory and Practice of Transition and Accession to the European Union». La cinquième Conférence Internationale «Intégrations économiques, concurrence et coopération» a eu lieu en 2005. C'était la première conférence bilingue (anglais et français). Le CEDIMES (Centre d'Études sur le Développement International et les Mouvements Économiques et Sociaux) de Paris a été associée à l'organisation cette cinquième Conférence. Des articles ont été choisis pour être publiés dans la monographie scientifique «Economic integration - prospects and dilemmas» éditée par la Faculté d'Économie de l'Université de Lubiana.

La sixième Conférence Internationale a eu lieu au mois d'avril 2007. 143 participants de Croatie et du monde entier y ont présenté 106 exposés publiés dans les Actes du colloque enregistrés en CD, dont 78 ont été publiés dans la monographie scientifique. Mes collaborateurs et moi-même, Vinko Kandžija, titulaire de la Chaire Jean Monnet de Rijeka et Président du Comité d'organisation du colloque avons organisé la dernière conférence en 2009 à Opatija. Des experts renommés comme Andrej Kumar, professeur à l'Université de Lubiana en Slovénie ont participé au Comité d'organisation ainsi que Claude Albagli, professeur à l'Université de Paris XII, Val de Marne, en France, Jacques Bourrinet, professeur à l'Université d'Aix-Marseille III, en France, Evrard Claessens, professeur à l'Université d'Anvers, Europacentrum Jean Monnet, Belgique, Maria Delivanis, professeur, CEDIMES Komotini, en Grèce, András Inotai, professeur à l'Institut for World Economics, de Budapest, en Hongrie, Nada Karaman Aksentijević, professeur à la Faculté d'Économie de l'Université de Rijeka en Croatie, Dušan Mramor,

professeur à la Faculté d'Économie de l'Université de Lubiana en Slovénie, Christos Pitelis, professeur à l'Université de Cambridge, Judge Business School - CIBAM, Royaume-Uni, Alain Redslob, professeur à l'Université Panthéon-Assas, Paris II, en France et Igor M. Tomic, professeur à l'Université St.-John's University, aux États-Unis. Les sujets suivant ont été abordés:

- La théorie et la pratique de l'intégration économique
- La libéralisation du commerce globalisé par opposition à l'intégration économique régionale
- La compétitivité et les défis dans l'UE élargie
- Les politiques économiques nationales et l'intégration économique; études de cas
- Le commerce international dans l'environnement globalisé changeant- la théorie et les pratiques
- La réglementation de l'environnement dans l'Union européenne - l'Union européenne et le point de vue national
- Les Balkans occidentaux; le commerce, la coopération et l'intégration
- La libéralisation du marché de l'énergie et le marché interne de l'Union européenne
- Le développement des ressources humaines en fonction du marché interne de l'Union européenne
- La théorie et les pratiques de la politique fiscale dans les pays de l'Union européenne.

Malgré la récession en Croatie et dans les pays voisin d'où viennent la plupart des participants, on a quand même enregistré 209 participants dont 129 sont étrangers. Les 93 exposés ont été publiés par notre Chaire, dans les Actes du colloque. Les préparatifs pour la publication de la monographie scientifique sont en cours.

Avec l'aide du Ministère de la Recherche, de l'Éducation nationale et des Sports de la République de Croatie, le projet scientifique «Système économique de l'Union européenne et adaptation de la République de Croatie», mis en place en 1997, a réalisé une recherche systémique du processus et des implications de l'intégration économique en Europe. Cela veut dire qu'on a préparé une étude pratique et analytique sur l'adhésion de la Croatie, ainsi que sur le problème de l'adaptation structurelle de l'économie aux règlements du marché interne de l'Union européenne.

À partir de 2001, la position de la Croatie change et dans le cadre des relations économiques internationales cela a encouragé la réalisation du projet «Système économique de l'Union européenne et adhésion de la République de Croatie», avec lequel la Chaire s'est particulièrement occupée et dont elle a permis la réalisation.

Conformément à l'adaptation de la Croatie dans le domaine des sciences et de la formation, en 2007, sous l'initiative de la Chaire, dans le cadre du projet de recherche «Le processus d'intégration européenne et la République de Croatie» les sujets suivant ont été abordés:

- Les potentiels humains et le développement de la Croatie
- Le développement du management en fonction de l'intégration de l'économie croate dans l'Union européenne
- La réforme de la Loi sur les Sociétés et de la Loi sur les corporations dans l'Union européenne et la législation croate
- Les marchés financiers et les institutions financières croates dans le processus d'adhésion à l'Union européenne
- L'innovation, le transfert de technologie et la compétitivité de l'exportation croate
- L'analyse quantitative de la productivité de l'économie croate et l'intégration de la Croatie dans l'Union européenne
- L'union monétaire européenne et la République de Croatie.

Le programme qui a réuni les projets cités ci-dessus a obtenu les meilleures notes dans le cadre du Concours du Ministère de la Recherche, de l'Éducation nationale et des Sports de la République de Croatie. Sezs objectifs ont été réalisés sur la base de:

- la comparaison entre les indicateurs macroéconomiques des pays en transition comparables et les indicateurs macroéconomiques dans l'Union européenne. De cette façon on aura une réponse sur la question de l'adéquation et de la rapidité de la réalisation des critères demandés;
- la participation des chercheurs aux nombreuses conférences scientifiques en Croatie et à l'étranger ainsi que le renouvellement de leurs connaissances sur la situation actuelle dans l'Union européenne et dans les pays candidats à l'adhésion,

- l'analyse des paramètres économiques en Croatie (par exemple, le problème du déficit du commerce extérieur, l'adaptation de la politique fiscale, l'acceptation et la réalisation des critères liés à l'acceptation de la monnaie unique européenne en Croatie);
- le support théorique pour la recherche de la compétitivité de l'économie croate, fondé sur la nouvelle théorie du commerce et du commerce intra-branch, en condition de concurrence imparfaite;
- l'interdépendance de l'intégration économique et de la croissance économique, comme support pour évaluer l'entourage macroéconomique en tant que condition de concurrence;
- l'établissement de possibles méthodes de mesurage de la compétitivité, avec accent sur l'identification des branches concurrentielles de l'économie, après les tests préliminaires effectués sur l'exemple de la Croatie et des États membres de l'Union européenne;
- l'identification du problème et l'évaluation de la convergence, c'est-à-dire de la divergence de l'économie croate avec les économies des autres pays de l'Europe du Sud-Est, ainsi que de l'économie de l'Union européenne;
- l'importance de la convergence nominale et réelle de l'économie croate par rapport aux économies de ses plus importants partenaires commerciaux;
- l'analyse de l'entourage macroéconomique dans le contexte de la crise économique globale, ainsi que des mouvements globaux sur le plan de la compétitivité de la Croatie dans le cadre global, et en particulier dans le cadre du processus d'intégration régionale, soit vers l'Union européenne que vers les pays membres de l'Accord de libre-échange centre européenne -CEFTA 2006.

La réalisation de ce projet scientifique permettra d'obtenir des résultats importants pour l'avenir de la République de la Croatie et pour son intégration dans l'Union européenne. La Chaire va publier les résultats des recherches, ce qui permettra une action adéquate, c'est-à-dire de trouver la clé pour surmonter avec facilité les problèmes et pour faire les pas nécessaires sur le chemin vers l'Union européenne. Il est particulièrement important de présenter les résultats de notre travail au grand public, ce qui a été fait plusieurs fois par la publication de monographies, livres et articles ainsi que par la participation aux nombreuses conférences dans le monde entier. La Chaire a organisé aussi de nombreux séminaires, tables rondes et

programmes éducatifs. Elle a réalisé une interaction avec les médias par internet, à travers la télé et la presse. Nos étudiants ont un rôle particulier dans ce processus et pourront appliquer leurs connaissances dans le cadre de l'économie et de l'administration publique ou bien dans le cadre des institutions de l'Union européenne, une nouvelle opportunité qui a été offerte cette année aux citoyens de la République de Croatie.

Pour terminer, j'oserais dire que la Chaire Jean Monnet en intégration européenne de l'Université de Rijeka a eu, et elle l'a encore et toujours, un rôle important dans le cadre de la diffusion des connaissances à l'égard du processus d'intégration européenne et qu'elle pourra influencer de façon importante le processus d'unification de l'Europe, à travers les activités d'autres Chaires Jean Monnet en Croatie ainsi que dans d'autres pays. Cette intégration est très importante pour la Croatie puisque, du point de vue historique et culturel, la Croatie fait déjà partie de ce "club privilégié". Beaucoup de travail a été fait et nous avons joué le rôle de pionnier dans notre entourage - l'espace de l'ex-Yougoslavie. Nous étions le pont, nous avons envoyé des messages et nous avons diffusé des idées vers tous les pays des Balkans occidentaux. On pourrait dire que nous étions l'exemple, le modèle, en particulier parce que nous avons propagé des idées sur l'Union européenne, avec courage et audace. Nous avons surmonté les obstacles – politiques, psychologiques et autres. Nous avons développé la collaboration avec les pays voisins parce que la science et la recherche ne connaissent pas les obstacles! Malgré les graves tensions présentes dans cette région après la guerre, nous avons affronté les problèmes, nous avons encouragé la coexistence, nous avons construit des ponts de collaboration et nous avons diffusé des idées pro-européennes. Nous sommes particulièrement fiers d'avoir propagé une attitude positive vers l'Europe parmi les jeunes, malgré les nombreuses circonstances défavorables.

III. The Global Jean Monnet Network: Enhancing the International Visibility and Understanding of the European Union

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EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION AS UNIVERSITY DISCIPLINES IN RUSSIA. A KEY ROLE FOR THE JEAN MONNET PROGRAM.

During recent several years a set of new university disciplines on European integration has been formed in Russia. This work was pioneered by the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO-University) and got an indispensable support within the Jean Monnet program. That makes a new step towards better awareness of Russian public about the European Union and opens a new page in the history of European studies in this country.

European studies in Russia

European studies in Russia have a long history of more than 40 years. It comprises two periods – a soviet period and a period that started in 1991 with the foundation of the Russian Federation. These two periods are different from the point of view of international environment, aims of research, people involved and scientific methods. Nevertheless, there is an evident continuity of the two scientific schools; the contemporary Russian school relies on the solid academic foundation built by the two older generations of researchers.

Public attention was drawn for the first time to the issue of the European Economic Community (EEC) by a popular soviet weekly “Novoe Vremya” (The New Times).

When the European Economic Community documents were still under preparation – in February 1957 – “Novoe Vremya” published an article that described the future treaty and made an attempt to assess its role in the political and economic system of Western Europe. The main conclusion of the article was that the declared Common Market would hardly be built because of different economic interests of member-states (some of them were better prepared to opening their markets while the others wanted to protect their national industries from foreign competitors) and political contradictions between them. It was six years after the treaty on the European Coal and Steel Community had been signed, however at those times few politicians and researchers paid serious attention to it; nobody could predict that it would be a starting point for a long history of European integration. However, the creation of the European Economic Community aiming to remove trade barriers and to found a customs union could not be treated as an insignificant episode and needed to be studied.

Several weeks after, the mentioned weekly published two more articles on the European Economic Community. One of them was a letter from two readers (signed by pseudonyms as we now know) and the other was an article by E. Menjinskiy “On the Common Market in Western Union”. Authors of the both publications disagreed with the statement contained in the first article that creation of a common market was not feasible. They argued that the union of Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg (Benelux) should be regarded as a partial implementation of a common market. Thereby, the proclaimed creation of a common market was for the first time regarded objectively as - a result of further internationalization of the Western European economies.

One should bear in mind that the mentioned exchange of views took place in a new political environment. In February 1956 the XX-th congress of the communist party of the Soviet Union condemned Stalin's cult of personality and strongly criticized his methods of ruling. A new party and state leader – Nikita Khrushchev initiated certain liberal reforms in domestic policy, while *intelligentsia* – a wide group of educated Soviet people started a discussion on the essential questions of social development, including external policy and international relations.

The systematic studies of European integration were launched by the newly founded Institute of World Economy and International Relations within the Academy of

Sciences of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Among the first professional works on the European Economic Community one should mention articles by academician E.S.Varga and by professor I.M.Lemin, both of them economists. They came to the conclusion that regional economic integration had a strong impact on the economic development of member-states, that it increased, inter alia, internal demand for industrial goods, stimulated competition and economies of scale, facilitated transfer of technologies and accelerated structural modernization of national economies. Professor Lemin predicted that economic integration would have a positive impact on households' income and on private consumption. In 1962 the Institute of World Economy and International Relations organized a conference on Western European regional integration. Its main findings were reproduced in a book that was published soon afterwards. It paved the way for the new idea that the integration process in Western Union had deep economic roots and was tightly linked with the international division of labor and technological progress.

The fact that European integration developed mainly in the economic field facilitated European studies in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Soviet economists were able to decouple professional studies of (based on facts, figures, calculations and economic analysis) from the prevailing political pattern. Thus, economists were the pioneers of European studies in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and they made a great contribution to the removal of ideological barriers in this area of social science. Consequently, economic areas of European integration have been studied and understood in this country much better than its political, technological, environmental or cultural dimensions.

A new rise in European studies started in the middle of the 60's. By that time soviet researches had acquired significant knowledge of the topic. They were familiar with the official documents of the three communities, as well as with essential facts and various figures. Their personal contacts with foreign colleagues developed exclusively within the socialist community – Comecon countries of Central and Eastern Europe. However it made possible to exchange views and to benefit from a wider academic discussion. Western books and journals on international relations and European studies were available in the libraries of the Academy of Sciences. Works by Bela Balassa, John Pinder, Jan Tinbergen, **Wilhelm Ropke**, Andreas

Predohl, **Jean-Francois Deniau**, Maurice Allais and others were well-known to soviet scholars.

During this period the soviet school of European studies experienced specialization: groups of researchers who dealt with economic integration, political integration, theories of regional integration, European Union law and humanitarian aspects of regional integration process were formed. A new generation of scholars came to the Academy of Sciences. Among them one should point out Margarita Maximova, Youri Shiskov, Lenid Glucharev, Youri Borko, Lev Entin, Vladimir Baranovsky, Vladimir Shenaev and Efim Hesin. The Institute of World Economy and International Relations remained the main centre of European studies, while certain research projects were realized in the Institute of Scientific Information for Social Sciences created in 1969.

Interest in the European Economic Community and demand for professional expertise were driven by three main factors. First, in the second half of the 60's the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics' relations with Western European countries became closer and more intensive. In 1966 France left the military structure of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and in 1969 Willy Brandt became a chancellor of Western Germany and launched his famous *Neue Ostpolitik* aimed at developing political and economic dialogue with East Germany, Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other Eastern Bloc countries. It was him who opposed the United States demand for its European allies not to deliver large-diameter tubes to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in exchange for Siberian oil. In the late 60's the general tension relief between the Soviet Union and the United States started, known as a policy of Cold War *détente*. In 1975 the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe was held in Helsinki. Its Final act, also known as Helsinki Accords or Helsinki Declaration was signed by thirty-three European states, United States and Canada. The document laid ground for wider economic cooperation between Eastern and Western blocs; it confirmed the inviolability of after-war national borders and promoted dialogue on civil rights.

Secondly, trade between the Soviet Union and Western Union boosted in the 70's while the European Economic Community Customs Union started to operate in 1968. In 1973 Great Britain – one of the main Union of Soviet Socialist Republics'

trade partner entered the Community together with Ireland and Denmark. Exports of oil and later on gas allowed the Soviet Union to increase imports of consumer goods and modern equipment. It all prompted the demand for deep knowledge of the European integration.

Thirdly, the regional integration between Eastern European countries within Comecon has had achieved a certain stage of development. The division of labor between member-states gave evident results: Eastern Germany supplied partner-countries with optics, instruments and sophisticated machinery, Hungary – with pharmaceutical products and buses, Poland specialized in shipbuilding, Bulgaria – in fresh and preserved fruits and vegetables, etc. A common unit of account – transferable rouble - was put in place to facilitate trans-border settlements. In order to smooth over fluctuations of global prices, mainly for oil and other raw materials after the oil shocks of 1973 and 1978, a special mechanism of pricing (based on a five-year average) was introduced in trade within Comecon countries. Ruling elites of the Soviet Union and of its Eastern European partners promoted studies of the European Economic Community in order to understand better their neighboring community and to use some of its integration tools within the Comecon.

When Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and started the far-reaching *perestroika*, the interest in the European Communities became even greater. In 1987 the Institute of Europe was founded within the Soviet (and then Russian) Academy of Sciences. Very soon it became the main centre of European studies in the new history of Russia. It united prominent scholars and young researchers dealing with different aspects of European integration as well as specialists on particular European countries and regions. The Institute developed a true interdisciplinary approach to the European Integration; economists, political and social scientists, geographers and historians carried out common projects and provided expertise for government bodies and mass media. Since 2000 an academic journal “Sovremennaya Evropa” (“Contemporary Europe”) has been published quarterly by the Institute of Europe. Professor Yuriy Borko – a former vice-director of the Institute and the head of the Department of European Integration – became the first Jean Monnet Chair in Russia.

In 1992 the Association of European Studies (Russia) was officially formed as an independent non-governmental organization. It unites academic scholars, university professors and other specialists on the European Union and European integration all over the country. At present it has almost 30 departments in various regions of Russia, based mainly in the major state universities, like universities of Saint-Petersburg, Ekaterinburg, Kazan, Petrozavodsk, etc. In 1994 the Association became one of the co-founders of the European Community Studies Association (ECSA)-World.

In late 90's first (rather short) courses on European started to be taught in Russian universities. In 2003 the Department of European Integration in MGIMO-University - the first department of that profile in Russia's higher school - was founded. During recent years new departments of European studies or European integration have been established in various Russian universities, for example in the Higher School of Economics (Moscow) and in the Urals State University (Ekaterinburg). The MGIMO Department of European Integration maintains close links with them, we exchange teaching practices and discuss approaches for the future.

Jean Monnet actions in the Moscow State Institute of International Relations

The Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO – University) was founded in 1944 with an aim to prepare highly-qualified diplomats who would be engaged in the construction of a new post-war international order. Since that time the Moscow State Institute of International Relations has gained reputation as the best national university training specialists in international relations. Currently it contains several schools where future diplomats, economists, lawyers, political scientists and journalists get their bachelors' and masters' degrees in various aspects of foreign policy and international relations. The Moscow State Institute of International Relations is widely famous for its linguistic school: at present 53 foreign languages are taught in the university.

In 2003 a new Department of European Integration was formed in The Moscow State Institute of International Relations. An original team of nine teachers was recruited from the Institute of Europe and other departments of the university. One professor came from the Institute of World Economy and International Relations and one more

– from the Institute of Economy of the Russian Academy of Sciences. In a couple of years more than 20 various courses on European integration became part of the University's curricula. They are meant for under-graduate and post-graduate education and embrace a wide range of topics, like European Union's history, European Union-Russia's relations, theories of regional integration, European Union foreign and security policy, European Union home affairs and justice, institutional structure of the European Union, migration, sub-regional cooperation, financial and monetary integration and others.

In 2005 an agreement between the Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA) and the Moscow State Institute of International Relations was concluded. According to it a Jean Monnet Chair was set up at the Department of European Integration in the Moscow State Institute of International Relations. During three years (2005 – 2008) both parties provided financial support for four new disciplines: the Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency contributed 17.800 euros, or 32% and the Moscow State Institute of International Relations – 38.400 euros, or 68%. Four disciplines were selected for the project, two of them taught for postgraduate students (future masters) and two – for undergraduate (future bachelors).

The project made possible to couple deep academic knowledge with teaching in the most experienced Russian university in the area of international relations. The main result of Jean Monnet Chair in the Moscow State Institute of International Relations is the introduction of a set of new university disciplines dealing with the European Union. The pivotal discipline is "European Integration and European Union - Russia's Relations". At present it exists in three main versions tailored for the professional profile of certain university schools: 1) for the school of International Relations (also fit for Political Science and History), 2) for the school of International Economic Relations and 3) for the school of Journalism. It is accomplished with specialized courses meant both for bachelors and masters. They include: "European Economic and Monetary Union", "Integration Process in Europe", "Integration Theories", "Energy policy and European Union-Russia's Energy Dialogue", "Enlargement of the European Union", "European Union Financial System" and some others.

Advanced teaching methods. The Department of European Integration employs teaching methods that correspond to its main objective – to provide students with complex knowledge of European Union policies and to create practical skills necessary for the future work.

From the very beginning we insisted on an interdisciplinary approach in teaching the European Integration. All aspects of European Union activities are taught to all students at different schools (of international economic relations, political science, international relations and journalism). Difficult topics (as European Economic and Monetary Union for non-economists) or security issues (for economists) are always present at the curricula. This required developing special methods of explaining difficult issues to less prepared audiences and a precise selection of materials.

Strong impetus was given to students' team work. During a semester each group of 3-5 people prepares two-three PowerPoint presentations on a certain aspect of the European Union activity. These presentations are discussed in a wider group (15 people) and the best are posted on the Department' webpage. On some occasions similar topics are given to two groups – to make them compete and strive for the best result.

Information technologies are an integral part of the teaching process. All lectures are supplied with PowerPoint materials including text, portraits, maps, graphs and pictures. All classes take place in rooms equipped with Personal Computers and Internet access, so that teachers and students can access official documents and use the latest information. Home tasks for students also are based on the use of materials got from the European Union website, as well as websites of various international and Russian institutions.

There is a deep conviction that the teaching process must rely both on strong professional ground and on a true partnership between teachers and students. Both parties should be committed to the spirit of democracy and should maintain their relationship fruitful for building self-esteem, dignity and open dialogue. Our aim is to give a chance to every student to improve his or her records, to make a contribution to the team work. We accurately trace the process of inter-semester individual evaluation and thoroughly explain the methods of the final evaluation. This allows students to be sure that everybody's work is assessed on the same basis and that requirements are addressed to all students. Normally, at the end of the semester we

ask students to fill in questionnaires and discuss the results at the Department meeting.

The course “Integration Process in Europe” was elaborated for the students who strive for a master’s degree in regional studies (Western department) and who had already passed through a wide range of courses on European politics and European economy during their undergraduate studies. They are all fluent in two European languages at least, and some of them speak or read three or four foreign languages. Normally, 15 to 25 young people enter this program every year. Upon graduation they get job proposals from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Non-governmental Organisations, TV channels and other media. Some of them enter postgraduate courses (aimed at preparing *candidate of sciences* dissertations).

The main objective of the course is to form systemic and highly-qualified knowledge of European integration that would provide graduates with a wide range of practical and academic skills in the mentioned area. During their training they learn to assess various events and trends, to formulate their own well-reasoned opinion, and to elaborate deep understanding of multi-facet processes. Students spend a lot of time on reading original academic texts on European Union and European Union-Russia’s relations (in Russian and English or French). Learning facts, figures and names is not the main priority of the course; however students need to use them freely for fulfilling more sophisticated tasks. Thus, a number of memorizing tests are used to improve this “technical” knowledge.

Good analytical skills – are to be the main asset of the graduates. Therefore the bulk of time is devoted to making individual and team reports, written statements and oral presentations (normally provided in PowerPoint slides). To help students make balanced assessments of various processes written summaries are widely used during in-class discussions. While students speak, an appointed secretary (a teacher or a student) types the main ideas in two columns (*pros* and *contras*) and the entire group follows the process by looking at the screen. At the end of the class the group introduces corrections into the summary making it more comprehensive, clear and well-reasoned; afterwards the file is sent to a group e-mail address, so that everybody could use it for future work.

The course “Financial System of the European Union” is meant for postgraduate students - future masters in political science. A group normally consists of 10 – 25 young people, half of whom study at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations-Science Po (Paris) master course. So, a certain proportion of students come from French-speaking countries and Russian is their second or third foreign language. The main objective of the course is to give the alumni the essential knowledge of European Economic and Monetary Union's mechanisms and its role in the international financial system. The main challenge of the course is that students have only the most basic education in economics and know quite little about finance. Their concepts usually are imported from mass media and thus not enough systemic and logical. So, a teacher has to fulfill a twofold task: to explain how the European Economic and Monetary Union works and to form a theoretical economic foundation that is necessary to apprehend the issues in question. A close two-way contact with the audience and a good clear language are indispensable for the success of the endeavor.

One of the most useful “know-how” of teaching this course is a bunch of clear and illustrative schemes, tables and drawings that allow non-economists to penetrate into professional knowledge, gaining real understanding of internal logics of processes rather than just remembering great data arrays. Special attention is paid to revealing and discussing similarities and differences between phenomena that look alike, e.g., single currency and a common unit of account, currency board and fixed rate, foreign exchange policy and monetary policy. Within this course the prevailing form of work is team work. To prepare for classes students are assigned to carry out team projects and to make team PowerPoint presentations. This stimulates them to recall together what was said during a previous class, to clear up difficult questions and to test certain arguments among themselves before they present them to a teacher.

Various simulations are also widely used during the course. For instance, to explain the refinance mechanism, certain students are “nominated” Chief Executive Officers of a central bank and of a commercial bank. They both have to agree on terms of a refinance facility and to calculate the financial outcome of the proposed operation. In this way students start to understand why a deposit rate is normally lower than a lending rate, how a refinance rate is linked to the money market rate and why it is so important for the investment activity. Thanks to these simulations students

understand that financial mechanisms are deeply integrated in the everyday life of the society and in their own lives, thus, they become interested in the course and are willing to study. In general, effective motivation is another “know-how” of the teaching practice. It has a special meaning and value for students who are not economists and do not enjoy strong analytical skills.

The course “European Integration and European Union-Russia’s relations”

was designed for the students of the fourth year of education - school of International Economic Relations. Being future economists by the time they start to study the mentioned discipline they have studied micro- and macro-economics (for two semesters each), as well as banking and finance, including international financial system. Within the course of international economic relations they have acquired essential knowledge of regional integration processes and the European Union. Therefore, the main objective of this particular course is to give students comprehensive knowledge of European Union activities: its institutions, policies and international position with special emphasis on the European Union-Russia’s economic cooperation. Usually from 80 to 100 students attend classes (four hours per week) during a semester. Half of this time is occupied by lectures and another half – by seminars.

Graduates are employed by various business structures: Russian and foreign companies and banks. Therefore, the main idea of the course is to allow students to understand internal mechanisms of the European Union that would permit them to take well-grounded decisions in their future work. For this purpose a special tool was elaborated. At the beginning of a semester each student chooses an area of study, for instance, transport, energy, agriculture, banking, trade policy, industrial cooperation, communication, etc. He or she has to make a personal dossier on the subject throughout a semester. When the European Union history is studied it is necessary to collect information about the past development of the certain area, when European Union institutions are studied a student should define a proper commissioner and read his/her recent speeches. Later on students look into the European Union annual report, European Union-Russia’s Partnership and Cooperation Agreement, European Union-Russia’s road maps, statistics and news. Thanks to that work at the end of a semester a student has at his/her disposal a complete picture of European Union activities and European Union-Russia’s

cooperation in a selected area. Moreover he gets a tool for fulfilling similar tasks in the future, whenever he will work in metal production, in a pharmaceutical MNC or in logistics.

The course “European Economic and Monetary Union” is taught at the Department of Finance in the School of International Economic relations during the fourth year of education. The students have strong knowledge of international finance and most of them are employed by banks, investment funds and other financial institutions – both Russian and international. The main objective of the course is to give professional knowledge of European Economic and Monetary Union and to develop analytical skills. Usually, a group consists of 25 – 35 students. Throughout the course there is no strict division between lectures and seminars that makes the teaching process similar to that in the postgraduate courses.

Teaching methods include intensive team work and individual analytical assignments. At the first meeting students get a strict schedule of future classes where all in-class oral and written tasks are stated together with the dates of submission of individual analytical papers. The group is divided into 4 – 6 sub-groups that work together throughout a semester on a competitive basis. During a class two groups are given the same task and after consultations they have to present a decision and compete with another team. For instance, when a theory of an optimal currency area is studied, teams acting as national governments have to propose a proper policy mix in case of a downturn for a country with a fixed exchange rate and for a country with a free float. Doing this students start to understand how an exchange regime affects macroeconomic policy and to what extent a monetary union is useful for its member-states. Sub-groups also make PowerPoint presentations that are followed by questions and critical comments from the side of competing sub-groups.

For individual analytical tasks precise written instructions have been prepared. They are sent to students by e-mail together with a list of individual versions (so that every student gets a unique assignment). To fulfill these tasks students need to use latest data from Internet portals of the European Central Bank, International Monetary Fund, Bank for International Settlements (BIS), the Bank of Russia and RosBusinessConsulting – a major Russian information agency on financial markets. For instance, a work on spreads on the cash foreign exchange market foresees

comparing real RUB-EUR spreads with rouble spreads for other currencies, like United States dollar, Pound sterling, Czech koruna, Japanese yen, Latvian lat, Norwegian krone, Polish zloty, Ukrainian hryvna and others. That is how students detect a difference in liquidity of currencies and make an attempt to explain it considering the statistics on foreign exchange turnover of the BIS and the Bank of Russia.

Teaching Economic and Monetary Union.

The euro has been successfully functioning for more than 10 years already. It is now well known to Russian citizens, millions of people in this country monitor day-to-day euro – rouble exchange rate as they follow the dollar - rouble exchange rate. Already in 1999 Sberbank – the largest savings bank in the Russian Federation – made it possible for the clients to open euro-denominated deposits and currently it offers a bunch of diverse instruments in euros. Many Russians use euros when they travel across Europe.

Nevertheless, the internal mechanisms of the European Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) are far from being clear to the public. Normally students, including those studying economics, know little about the European Central Bank (ECB), its main objective, functions and instruments. The role of the euro in the international financial system is even a greater mystery. When students are asked to assess the present position of the euro in the world they usually rely on common perceptions (sometimes emotional) and speak about strategic prospects of the European Union and United States' economy. Until now professional courses on European Economic and Monetary Union are taught on a permanent basis only in one Russian university – the Moscow State Institute of International Relations.

In 2003 a course on “European Economic and Monetary Union” for the students of undergraduate level of the School of International Economic Relations specializing on finance was introduced. From 2005 a similar course has been included in the curricula of the postgraduate program of the School of Political Science. It is taught for Russian and international students (most of whom participate in the joint Moscow State Institute of International Relations-Science-Po Masters' program) who are well-trained in international politics but know little about finance. Above all, four more courses on European integration taught both at bachelors and masters levels in the

schools of International Economic relations, International Relations and International Journalism include substantial parts of EMU studies.

To be effective courses on EMU need to respond to two challenges: to describe and explain the topic from zero point and to allow students penetrate into a sophisticated matter even if they lack solid economic education. While studying "European Economic and Monetary Union" students face serious psychological barriers. Many of them may start to doubt about their abilities to pass the course successfully. Consequently, they may self-sabotage: skip classes, not present written tasks or – even worse - attend classes and fulfill obligatory tasks simply with an aim just to get through (especially if the course is obligatory). For this reason some students just switch for learning by heart and give up to follow the logic. Therefore, proper motivation is needed to make students work hard and to be willing to penetrate into a new area of knowledge.

Teaching methods. Within courses on European Economic and Monetary Union various teaching methods described above are used. They include lectures and seminars, in-class discussions and collective on-screen summaries, team PowerPoint presentations as well as in-class tests and written home works. However, due to the fact that the topic is rather difficult for the audience, it is appropriate to point out some specific teaching tools.

First, teaching should be based on logics rather than on remembering. To do this I use several teaching tools. A set of schemes was elaborated to make an illustrative explanation of the most important processes, like transmission mechanisms, refinance operations of the European Central Bank, types of exchange rates, etc. To facilitate the perception of figures graphs are widely used. According to my understanding students should not be forced to learn lots of figures, it is much more important to show them main economic proportions and to explain their economic meaning. It is also useful to explain how fast this or that indicator could change. For instance a ratio of budget deficit to GDP is rather volatile, while a ratio of debt to GDP moves slowly. When students get a general picture of the main quantitative indicators their knowledge is more solid than when they just try to remember long rows of figures.

As it was said before, it is important to clear up the difference between phenomena that look alike and to check whether students understand the most important logic chains. Simple simulations prove to be very useful for this purpose. For example, when we discuss the interest rate policy of the European Central Bank, certain students are “appointed” Chief Executive Officers of commercial banks and are asked to take decisions on retail lending and deposit rates after the European Central Bank has changed its Main Refinancing Operations (MRO) rate.

Second, there should be an evident hierarchy of knowledge. When students have to deal with a bulk of new and difficult material they should be aware of the fact that there is no need to “digest” absolutely everything. Normally, I detect the most important facts, logic chains and figures that should be learnt compulsory. Some materials are marked as additional. So students of different abilities have a chance to get the most use of the course and do not miss the most important things. Before the final test a short list of “emergency store” of facts and figures is announced (e.g., European Union member-states, euro zone members, GDP of the euro zone, main objective of the European Central Bank, share of the euro in world’s official reserves, etc).

Third, students should acquire practical skills. To achieve this purpose I use simulations, online documents and data bases of international and Russian economic institutions, as well as detailed descriptions of written tasks. Fourth, a constant dialogue with the students is essential for successful studies. I consider as more effective questions starting with “why” and “how” (for instance, ‘Why the European Central Bank has only one main objective?’ or “How is the euro used as an invoice currency?”) than questions starting with “what” (for instance “What types of refinance operations uses the European Central Bank?”).

Motivation of students. In my practice I use three types of stimulus: emotional, social and intellectual. To make classes emotionally colorful I usually smile to students, make some jokes and establish personal contacts with many of them. In order to address students by first names I ask them to make paper cards that are put in front of each person during the class. It also helps to moderate discussions. Students are stimulated to reveal their creativity while they draw a map of the euro zone, schemes and graphs or prepare PowerPoint presentations. They may perform (acting as presidents, ministers or Chief Executive Officers) during simulations.

Special attention is paid to the students' self-esteem. Every correct answer or useful comment gets positive evaluation. This is especially true when the most difficult issues are studied. I do my best to make weaker students believe in their success and support any effort from their side. From time to time I address students with words "ladies and gentlemen", "estimated colleagues". I also pronounce phrases like "You will make bright carriers" or "Today I am with you to help you achieve more than our generation has achieved". I also say that it is great to be an economist since this profession allows a person to develop his/her talents.

Social stimulus include an opportunity to work in a team (mentioned sub-groups), to develop leader's skills, to learn to be generous in exchanging ideas and working results, to build a balance between individual and group interests. After having worked together throughout a semester students often become friends and get a memorable experience of an intellectual breakthrough. I also suggest that students should speak about what they have learnt in class with their parents, friends and fiancées. For instance, after discussing the European Union proposals for the G-20 meeting I tell them "this evening you have a chance to impress you parents with this particular knowledge" or "show this web-page to you boy-friend, he will be proud of you".

Intellectual motivation is based on the fact that students get practical skills for their future work as well as for their every-day life. After a course on European Economic and Monetary Union they know more about foreign exchange rates, interest rates, interbank and retail money markets. This knowledge could be rather useful for managing family budgets. Moreover, graduates get additional highly-professional topics that they may discuss with potential employers and reflect in their CVs.

In general, courses on European Economic and Monetary Union are presented to students as a great opportunity to get precious knowledge and useful skills, as well as an outstanding social and intellectual experience.

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LA ASOCIACIÓN EUROLATINOAMERICANA: UNA MIRADA DESDE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY STUDIES ASSOCIATION (ECSA)

Quiero agradecer en primer lugar a la Comisión Europea, y muy especialmente al equipo que desarrolla el Programa Jean Monnet por su amable invitación, y por haber tenido la sensibilidad y preocupación en implementar cátedras de integración europea en una región tan diferente como América Latina.

Junto a ello, transmitirles también los saludos más cordiales de toda la comunidad académica que forma parte de European Community Studies Association-América Latina, de todos los profesores de Argentina, Bolivia, Brasil, Chile, México,...

En nuestros 2 últimos Congresos Latinoamericanos de European Community Studies Association pudimos dialogar sobre el tema que nos ocupa hoy². Por ello, permítanme sintetizar algunos de los temas tratados en estos breves minutos.

Las relaciones entre Europa y América Latina (AL) anteceden los actuales vínculos institucionales entre la Unión Europea (UE) y distintos países u organismos regionales de América Latina. Literatura, arte y ciencias de una y otra orilla del Atlántico siempre dialogaron. La Unión Europea necesita aprovechar esta herencia

de diálogo. El diálogo supone conocimiento, y así como la Unión Europea necesita conocer a América Latina, AL necesita conocer a la Unión Europea.

Como lo describe la Comisión Europea “es importante mejorar el conocimiento y la comprensión mutua entre la Unión Europea y América Latina. En efecto, encuestas de opinión señalan un desconocimiento de la Unión Europea en América Latina. Existe una situación comparable en la mayoría de los países de la Unión Europea frente a países latinoamericanos. Conviene reflexionar sobre las acciones a poner en marcha para reducir este déficit de información con el fin de reforzar la asociación estratégica entre las dos regiones”³.

El riesgo para la Unión Europea, tal como lo esclarece un estudio sobre la imagen externa de la misma, es brindar una imagen de la Unión Europea muy reducida. Según el mencionado estudio, la Unión Europea, a pesar de ser un actor de primera magnitud en lo que se refiere a la ayuda al desarrollo, es percibida como “*an actor whose policy is severely influenced by its own security or economic concerns; a neo-liberal actor in its external relations; and a protectionist power (CAP). EU’s self-representation as a solidaristic actor is called into question. Moreover:*

- *Little evidence of the EU being widely seen as a “normative power” exporting universal values of democracy and human rights.*
- *No evidence of the EU being widely regarded as a social model to be imitated.*
- *No public reward for EU’s development cooperation policy”⁴.*

Además, el conocimiento sobre la integración europea no sólo sirve para fortalecer el debate cultural entre Unión Europea y América Latina, al ser la Unión Europea una de la más relevantes novedades que Europa proporcionó al mundo en los últimos cincuenta años. Su conocimiento es útil también como inspiración política para la creación de proyectos semejantes para la gobernanza mundial, especialmente en América Latina. La integración no solo es un conjunto complejo de instituciones, dinámicas y valores, sino que también es un *work in progress*, por lo

² CELARE/ECSA-América Latina: *V Cumbre América Latina y el Caribe – Unión Europea Lima 2008. Evaluación, desafíos y propuestas*, Santiago de Chile, 2008, pp. 19-22.

³ Comisión Europea: *Documento de Programación Regional de la Comisión Europea para América Latina 2007-2013*, 12.07.2007, (E/2007/1417), p. 25.

Véase también Corporación Justicia y Democracia: *FocusEurolatino. América Latina & Unión Europea. Percepción ciudadana. Latinobarómetro 2004*. Marta Lagos, Santiago de Chile, 2004.

⁴Vease

http://www.garneteu.org/fileadmin/documents/Activities/Flyer_survey_on_the_External_Image_of_the_EU.pdf

que su conocimiento requiere un continuo avance y perfeccionamiento si no se quiere caer en las banalidades de una enseñanza que no sólo no hace honor a la Unión Europea, sino que brinda visiones equivocadas de su proceso y, por lo tanto, no ayuda, sino dificulta, el desarrollo de procesos similares como los de la integración latinoamericana.

Por otro lado, como señala el Sistema Económico Latinoamericano y del Caribe (SELA), “la Unión Europea, por el hecho de no ser una federación sino una confederación, tiene un tipo de gobernanza que la hace actuar a nivel internacional más en una lógica de interdependencia que en una lógica tradicional de poder. En este contexto, la estrategia de la Unión Europea descansa sobre un mayor grado de preferencia por la generalización de “normas o reglas de comportamiento” aplicables a los Estados. Estas normas son negociadas (no impuestas), son legitimadas en círculos o foros internacionales representativos, y están vigentes para todos. Para Europa, un mundo más interdependiente y multipolar implica una regulación por las normas y no solo por arreglos políticos entre gobiernos. A partir de ello, se tiende a concebir y tratar las relaciones internacionales como un juego de suma positiva y no tanto como una gestión de intereses opuestos. Sin embargo, esto no significa que Europa no defienda sus intereses económicos o geopolíticos sino que lo hace sobre la base de una perspectiva cooperativa.”⁵.

Mirando al futuro, para la Unión Europea, en su relación con América Latina, no sólo se trata de vender. Sobre todo, el desafío es crear redes, posicionar identidades, crear alianzas. Intangibles que especialmente hacen necesario conocer mejor a la Unión Europea: su lógica, su funcionamiento, sus elementos más estructurales, sus debilidades y puntos fuertes.

Y éste es el papel estratégico que European Community Studies Association-América Latina y sus profesores Jean Monnet han desempeñado en América Latina. Brindar conocimiento y una red de especialistas sobre la Unión Europea en el ámbito de la educación superior latinoamericana con el apoyo de la Comisión Europea. En un primer momento, promoviendo la creación de las ECSAs nacionales latinoamericanas, y ahora actuando como la coordinadora regional de las mismas.

⁵ SELA: *Evaluación de los resultados de la V Cumbre Birregional América Latina y el Caribe – Unión Europea: Perspectivas y oportunidades en el contexto de la crisis internacional*, Caracas, 2009, p. 4.

Entre sus actividades más importantes cometidas en el período 2006-2009 podemos destacar: II, III, IV y V Congresos de European Community Studies Association-América Latina, celebrados del 1 al 3 de mayo de 2006 y del 10 al 12 de septiembre de 2007 en la Universidad Federal de Santa Catarina (Florianópolis, Brasil), del 14 al 15 de octubre de 2008 en la sede de la ALADI (Montevideo, Uruguay), y del 9 al 10 de mayo de 2009 en la Facultad de Derecho de la Universidad de Buenos Aires (Argentina), publicación de un libro con las ponencias principales del último Congreso, página web, promoción del estudio de la Unión Europea y de la creación de nuevas ECSAs en los Estados latinoamericanos donde todavía no existen, y colaboración con otras redes científicas, como la Red UREL (Universidades Regionales Latinoamericanas) y la del CELARE (Centro Latinoamericano para las Relaciones con Europa).

Y, por último, como nos enseña Weber, el científico social tiene que cuidarse de toda pretensión de objetividad de su disciplina y ser consciente de que, en la base de toda obra científica hay una elección de valores, tan importante como el método desarrollado para alcanzar los resultados. Por ello, la visión de la integración europea que brindamos al exterior tiene que ser pluralista, abierta a la duda sistemática, reflejando así por sí misma, uno de los valores más importantes que conforman la Unión Europea. European Community Studies Association-América Latina de este modo reclama su rol intelectual al mismo tiempo que reclama el reconocimiento del carácter imprescindible de su aporte en el contexto político.

En nuestro caso, vinculado especialmente a la construcción de la asociación estratégica birregional entre la Unión Europea y América Latina y el Caribe, como proyecto conjunto lanzado en la Primera Cumbre de Jefes de Estado y Gobierno celebrada en Río de Janeiro en 1999 con el objetivo de consolidar una asociación basada en valores compartidos como la democracia, los derechos humanos, la paz y la integración, mediante una red de Acuerdos de Asociación. Proyecto reiterado a su vez en Declaraciones como la de Viena en 2006 que propugna en concreto la creación de un espacio común de educación superior birregional. En estos días en que celebramos 10 años del inicio la asociación estratégica birregional, y empezamos con los bicentenarios de la independencia de las repúblicas latinoamericanas (Bolivia y Ecuador,...), hay que subrayar como European Community Studies Association-América Latina y la red de profesores Jean Monnet

ha contribuido a ello, haciendo el seguimiento y la evaluación de dicha asociación eurolatinoamericana.

Decía el escritor mexicano Carlos Fuentes que América Latina es “lo mejor de Europa proyectado fuera de Europa”⁶. Hoy no es posible entender Europa sin América Latina. Y ayudar a traducir desde el ámbito académico esta doble alma, esta comunidad de valores entre la Unión Europea y América Latina ha sido y es nuestro objetivo.

⁶ _Carlos Fuentes : *Europa y América Latina*, El País, España, 25 de agosto de 2001, pp. 9-10.

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KOREA AND THE EUROPEAN UNION STUDIES: THE ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION AND JEAN MONNET PROGRAMS

This paper tries to assess the current European Union studies in Korea and addresses the challenges for promoting the European Union studies in Korea, highlighting the possible role of the European Union. In Korea, the European Union is not very much present due to its close link with the United States. The European Union has been at best another United States and at worst an invisible giant in Korea. Thus the promotion of European Union studies should be accompanied by actions to increase the awareness of Korean publics on European Union affairs. This paper is composed of two parts. The first part of this paper will overview the current state of the European Union Studies in Korea and the problems linked to its promotion. The second part will try to suggest some recommendations.

Current state of the European Union studies in Korea and its potential

The current state of the European Union studies in Korea is very rudimentary. At graduate level, there are only two European Union study programs, one at the Graduate School of International Studies, Seoul National University and another at Hankuk University of Foreign Languages. These programs were initiated as one of the priority actions to promote internationalization by the Korean government in 1997. Compared to graduate programs, under-graduate level European Union study programs remain far more underdeveloped or virtually absent. Courses about Europe are rather for individual European member countries and European

languages. It is not strange at all that Jean Monnet programs were hardly known to Korean academics and students. In fact, there are few Jean Monnet programs applied by Korean academics (for instance there is only one Jean-Monnet professor in Korea until today). Nevertheless, there seems to be a high potential for developing the European Union studies in Korea for two reasons.

First, there is a strong interest in regional integration issues among Korean public. Given that Korea is a divided nation, experiencing constant military threats by Japan and China as well as North Korea, establishing peace and prosperity in East Asia is the most important national agenda. In this respect, successful European integration process itself is a model to follow for almost all Korean public, and there is a continuing interest in studying European integration. But studying European integration is not enough, because so far its integration itself was too specific as a particular historical product of Europe. There is a need to develop broader and general study on regional integration, such as theory and practice of regional integration. Developing comparative studies on regional integration could be considered as an intermediate step in this respect

Secondly, there is a growing interest in the European Union policies because of the European Union's role as an international actor. This is especially true for policy makers and specialists in Korea, although they do not know much on the European Union institutions and integration. It is then essential to analyze how Korea will apply such policies in the specific Korean and Asian context and their implications for Korea. Again comparative and global perspective in studying European public policies is important.

Currently the European Union is the second largest trading partner for Korea well ahead of the United States and the first largest foreign investor in Korea. The recent signing of Korea-European Union Free Trade Agreement will create a huge opportunity to increase the awareness of Korean publics about the strategic importance of the European Union. It seems that the European Union is also aware of the strategic position of Korea in its external policy. Korea is the 4th largest non-European trading partner to the European Union after the United States, China and Japan. More importantly, Korea is a gateway to Asian markets, allowing European companies to access these ever growing markets, especially the Chinese market.

Furthermore, Korea is a country that shares the European common values such as democracy and human rights. The importance of Korea is evidenced by the recent establishment of three European Union centres supported by the European Commission. These increasing Korea-European Union relations will certainly help to strengthen the interests of Korean students about European Union studies. There is however a serious problem for developing European Union studies in Korea as an independent program (especially at graduate level). So far, the European Union studies programs in Korea have been all academic ones without considering job placement. Developing job-linked European Union studies program is a serious challenge for Korean and Asian students (even more so, because citizens of non European countries are not allowed to work in the European Union institutions). There should be ways to suit the demand from the private and business sector, too. It means that there might be a need to combine business studies with the European Union studies.

Recommendation

In summary, this paper proposes to develop comparative studies on regional integration, and to develop trans-regional double/joint degree programs including one school in Asia and one in Europe, at least or including two heterogeneous disciplines, for example one in business and the other in European Union studies. It means that Jean Monnet actions and Erasmus programs should be far more actively extended beyond European borders to non-member countries, especially to Korea and Asian countries. Korea and many Asian nations will certainly welcome these initiatives from Europe, trying to do their best in internationalizing their education systems and learning from European experience. For instance, as incarnated by the recent Industrialised Countries Instrument - Education Cooperation Programme (ICI-ECP) project, the Korean government is very eager to cooperate to extend Korea-Europe bilateral student exchange and education cooperation, committing itself to financing 50% of the necessary mobility funds. Korean government is also interested in participating in Erasmus Mundus program, with its own financial resources. Now it is high time for Europe and Asia to jointly design high quality education and research, targeting at developing regional integration studies, strengthening Asia-European nexus of scholars and schools and ultimately capable of creating a trans-regional job market.

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THE JEAN MONNET NETWORK: ENHANCING THE INTERNATIONAL VISIBILITY AND UNDERSTANDING OF THE EUROPEAN UNION. A SOUTH AFRICAN, SOUTHERN AFRICAN, SUB-SAHARAN PERSPECTIVE

Presence, visibility and activities in Sub-Saharan Africa

The Jean Monnet Network leaves almost no footprint in the Sub-Saharan African (SSA) intellectual environment. Academics, particularly in the fields of political science, economy, history and law are generally speaking, only vaguely aware of its existence. Its existence and role in this part of the world are almost totally absent, resulting in low to almost zero visibility and no impact on intellectual life and the developmental agenda in the sub-continent.

This state of affairs is not totally due to lack of trying or effort on the part of some universities, especially in South Africa (SA), the most developed country in the Sub-Saharan African context. Efforts by some South African universities to introduce it were unsuccessful, mostly; it seems, because of complicated procedural/administrative/bureaucratic requirements, unique local circumstances, as well as the dearth of academically qualified experts in European Area Studies, particularly the European Union. Pretoria University's Department of Political Sciences applied twice for participation in some of the programmes offered by Jean Monnet, but failed to make it on both occasions because the stringent requirements could not be met. If other Sub-Saharan African universities tried their luck they met the same fate because no Jean Monnet programme exists yet in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Up to the present, European Community Studies Association Southern Africa and the Centre for African and European Studies (CEAS) at the University of Johannesburg are the only institutionalised scholastic efforts to study and promote understanding of the European Union in South Africa (SA). In the rest of the Sub-Saharan Africa, as pointed out, there are no Jean Monnet programmes in operation. Ad hoc seminars and workshops on the European Union do from time to time take place in South Africa, sporadic publications in scientific journals appear from time to time featuring the European Union, and in most of the bigger universities it figures, albeit insignificantly, in the curricula. But in general, European Union studies are treated as a step child at South African universities, while in the rest of the Sub-Saharan Africa the situation may even be worse.

Low level of visibility/awareness of the European Union (Image)

A correspondence, albeit no means the dominant factor, seems to exist between the lack of academic intellectual engagement, through inter alia Jean Monnet programmes, and the exceedingly low visibility/awareness of the European Union in South Africa and elsewhere in the Sub-Saharan African region. Arguably African elite/academic interest could act as an important multiplication factor favouring the European Union in Sub-Saharan Africa, but this opportunity seems to be overlooked in the various aid programmes of the European Union in Sub-Saharan Africa, as well as the Jean Monnet programmes.

An empirical survey we carried out about a year ago by Lorenzo Fioramonte and myself, showed that the European Union ranked below most countries in terms of media attention, particularly the major powers, including some of the European Union's own member states (old Europe), and below multilateral bodies like the United Nations, World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the African Union. We concluded that the European Union's image in South Africa was distant and even marginal: it was scarcely known to the South African public at large and vastly ignored by the country's media. Public opinion surveys revealed that the European Union was one of the least known international institutions, despite being South Africa's and the rest of the Sub-Saharan African region's biggest donor of development aid, largest trading partner and important role player in peace making efforts in the troubled areas of the African continent. Official government documents routinely portray the European Union as a partner and ally of African governments,

as a model for African integration. Yet civil society organisations, instead of appreciating or praising it, criticise the European Union for imposing self-interested developmental and trade policies, particularly the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) and the discriminating Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) perceived as being detrimental to the continent.

The European Union's importance and role in SubSaharan Africa more real than apparent

The discrepancy between the European Union's image and substantive role (as the facts and figures below will illustrate), in South Africa in particular (although the same goes for the rest of the Sub-Saharan African) is glaringly obvious when the empirical reality is considered. The caveat which should be added here is that while official relations between South Africa and most of the Sub-Saharan African region and the European Union are amicable and well-established, the ideological prevalence of Afro-centrism and Euro-centrism prevent what is called in diplomatic parlance a 'special relationship'. History, particularly colonialism and perceived exploitation, mainly account of this state of affairs. Yet, under circumstances, relations are quite solid, durable and expansive. At the same time it must be noted that these are basically government-to-government, bureaucratically managed and driven relations from which civil society is largely excluded.

General importance of South Africa-European Union Relations

Multilateral and bilateral interaction with the European Union is continuously taking place on issues such as economic globalisation, improved market access, debt relief, and the reform of the United Nations Security Council, disarmament and human rights. The establishment of a constructive North-South Dialogue is also of particular importance to South Africa.

South Africa relates to the European Union at various levels and in many forums. The most important of these is the bilateral relationship followed by the regional and continental dimensions. South Africa is also a signatory of the Cotonou Partnership Agreement (CPA), which forms the basis for co-operation between the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) group of States and the European Union. At the regional and continental levels, several processes relate Africa to the European

Union. These include the Berlin Process (SADC), the Cairo Process (Africa) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD).

Trade

The European Union is one South Africa's most important economic and trade partners. And South Africa is the European Union's largest trading partner in the Sub-Saharan Africa. In 2002 it imported goods from the European Union worth €12.4 billion and exported goods to the European Union worth €15.6 billion.

South Africa's trade relations and development cooperation with the European Union are governed by the 2000 Trade, Development and Cooperation (TDCA) agreement, the main objective being the creation of a free trade area a period of 12 years.

Total Trade has developed considerably over the past decade. It increased from R 56.5 Billion in 1994 and reached R278 billion in 2006. In 2006 South Africa exports to the European Union -15 amounted to R124 billion. The European Union ranked as South Africa's number one exporting region for 2006 and 2007. South Africa's total imports from the European Union-15 amounted to R154 billion in 2006, also ranking number one. By contrast, South Africa accounts for only 1.5% of the European Union's external trade. South Africa's trade deficit with the European Union-15 equalled R30 billion in 2006.

Europe continues to be the most important source of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in South Africa, accounting for around 80% of total foreign direct investment in 2005. Moreover, the European Union accounted for approximately 66% of net foreign investment in South Africa in 2003-2004, and in 2005 the European Union's share of total assets held by foreigners in South Africa amounted to approximately 60%.

South Africa, as a member of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), is participating in the negotiation of the Southern African Development Community –Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) with the European Union. The planned revision of the trade chapter of the Trade, Development and Cooperation has been fully subsumed into the SADC-EPA process

The Republic of South Africa-European Union Strategic Partnership and Joint Action Plan

South Africa and the European Union established a Strategic Partnership on 14 May 2007 in Brussels through the adoption of the Joint Action Plan. The Joint Action Plan develops a strategic partnership that significantly enhances existing cooperation on issues of mutual interest at bilateral, regional, continental or global levels. One of the guiding principles for the Strategic Partnership is that it must support South Africa's national, regional and African priorities and programmes to eradicate poverty and underdevelopment, such as the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa (ASGISA), the Joint Initiative for Priority Skills Acquisition (JIPSA) and Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE). This is further emphasised in the stated objective of the development partnership between South Africa and the European Union to develop the Second Economy and to closer link it to the First Economy. The broader policy dialogue with the European Union and its member states includes the sharing of experiences of the regional policy of the European Union, employment and social affairs, macro-economic dialogue and education and training.

The European Union' Strategy for Africa

In December 2005, the Heads of State and Government of the European Union adopted a new Strategy for Africa, with the title "The European Union and Africa: Towards a Strategic Partnership". This new Strategy was drawn up on the basis of a proposal from the Commission, which was presented in October the same year.

The purpose of this Strategy was to give the European Union a comprehensive, integrated and long-term framework for its relations with the African continent. It was designed to guide interaction between the whole of Europe and Africa at all levels: pan-African institutions such as the African Union, regional organizations, as well as with African countries.

The European Union-Africa Cooperation

The foremost expression of co-operation between Africa and the European Union is by way of the Africa-Europe Summit. The first Africa-Europe Summit was held in Cairo in April 2000 under the aegis of the Organisation of African Unity and the European Community. The Summit adopted both the Cairo Declaration and the

Cairo Plan of Action. The Plan of Action outlined a host of priority actions which are intended to contribute to the achievement of the principles contained in the Declaration.

The 2nd European Union – Africa Summit, was eventually held on 8 to 9 December 2007 in Lisbon. The Summit adopted the Joint European Union-Africa Strategy, which is a focused, political document that sets out the vision for African-European relations. It is clustered into four themes: Peace and Security; Governance and Human Rights; Trade and Regional Integration and key Development Issues.

The European Union - New Partnership for Africa's Development

A dialogue, based on regular working sessions has been established between the European Commission and the New Partnership for Africa's Development Secretariat.

In addition the European Commission approved a proposal for a Partnership on Infrastructure between the European Union and Africa. This Partnership was aimed at responding to the aims set out by the African Union and the New Partnership for Africa's Development. The European Union-Africa Partnership on Infrastructure lay at the heart of the European Union Strategy for Africa, which the European Council approved in December 2005. A total of €5.6 billion was allocated to the Partnership.

The European Union-Southern African Development Community Cooperation

SADC and the European Union signed a Declaration in Berlin, Germany, on 6 September 1994, with the overall objective to contribute to peace, democracy and sustainable development in Southern Africa through further developing of relations between the two regions and establishing a comprehensive dialogue. The Berlin Initiative comprises of the Ministerial Conferences held every two years, as well as the Joint Committee of Senior Officials and the Joint Steering Committee, which meets in the interim.

What shall be done?

By all indications Africa is an important element of European Union foreign relations architecture and global strategy aimed at greater recognition and leverage and

regional security. This is confirmed by the Strategic Partnership arrangement is particular. Unfortunately for the European Union, there is a wide discrepancy between aspirations and reality.

Obviously, there is a wide discrepancy between the substance of European Union relations with South Africa and the Sub-Saharan African region as a whole and the public, civil society, recognition it receives. European Union good deeds do not translate into a better image. On the one hand it seems that the European Union role in South Africa and the Sub-Saharan African region is almost taken for granted by African officialdom, thinking perhaps that the European Union needs African cooperation for its own critical strategic and economic reasons, rather than the reverse. Africa is neither hot nor cold in its relations with the European Union. On the other hand, the European Union officialdom does not seem much concerned about this, sending out the message, perhaps unintentionally, that civil society is really of little consequence in the policy equation. Perhaps the Commission might argue that, on the basis of what I stated above about the substance of existing relations, that official bilateral relations are on a desired level in any case and that there is really nothing to be concerned about.

I do not think, however, that self-congratulatory stand-patting would be a wise posture on the part of the European Union; if it takes a stable long term relationship with Sub-Saharan Africa seriously, and I believe it does, there is a need for reflection and change.

Let me conclude with some general observations and suggestions.

- Main problem: European Union/Sub-Saharan African relations are basically elitist/bureaucratic, intergovernmental, and top-down; civil society, particularly universities and the intellectual elite, by-and-large not involved; little or no dialogue/engagement with civil society to cultivate support base and develop potential multipliers to carry the European Union message.
- The low, almost zero, level of civil society participation is indicative of the inadequacy of present approach and the strategies and leadership of the European Union missions in African Capitals in particular.

- More effort should be made to bring European Union/Sub-Saharan African interrelations (policies, actions, ideals, successes) into the public domain, so that people can understand it is also about them, their interests.
- Access procedures to Jean Monnet programmes are exceedingly difficult and even prohibitive for Africans who might otherwise be interested to engage Jean Monnet programmes.
- The Chinese example of successful engagement with leaders of public opinion / multipliers of public opinion (intellectuals / scholars / media) in Sub-Saharan Africa is perhaps worth looking at. Also the German *Stiftungs* (Konrad Adenauer, Friedrich Ebert, etc) operate successfully in Africa and their examples could be looked at.
- Jean Monnet programmes for Africa should be 'indigenised', empowered by way of special 'developmental' dispensation tailor-made to the unique circumstances of Africa.

In conclusion: there seems no easy answer available at this stage but I would suggest that a special study/investigation be launched in collaboration with the key African role players and on the basis of conclusions reached, the existing Jean Monnet policy is reviewed and adapted to accommodate Sub-Saharan Africa more adequately to the benefit both sides.

Alberta Sbragia

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A EUROPEAN UNION EXTERNAL EDUCATION POLICY: A EUROPEAN UNION NECESSITY

The European Union benefits from - and very much needs - an external education policy. It is evident that Jean Monnet Chairs outside the European Union represent a key component of the European Union's current external education policy. Their very name is rooted in a process of integration which is often mystifying to non-Europeans. They perform a critical function, and they play a special role.

That special role is especially important in the United States. There, Jean Monnet Chairs act as essential catalysts for a wide range of much-needed European Union-related activities. The general population in the United States is largely unaware of the European Union's role in Europe, much less its global role in areas such as international development. Even journalistic, administrative and political elites' knowledge is often hazy and simplistic at best. It is noteworthy that some officials from the various United States ministries (known as Departments in the United States) who have been posted to the United States Mission to the European Union have found it difficult to understand how the European Union operates. Americans are used to thinking of—and dealing with-- nation-states. France, Britain, Germany, Italy, Spain, Poland—all come to mind when Americans think about Europe. The European Union does not enjoy that same status.

For most Americans, Europe is a geographic expression which refers to the nation-states of Europe. In fact, when new European Union Ambassadors arrive in Washington, they often confuse their audience by referring to Europe. In the Ambassadors' minds, they are referring to the European Union when they say "Europe." However, in the minds of many (and probably most) United States audiences, Europe refers to a collection of states and not at all to the institutions and policies of an integrating Europe.

Two factors help explain this view. First of all, the United States has historically been a country of immigration—immigration from Europe. A great many of the emigrants who left Europe in such huge numbers in the nineteenth and early twentieth century went to the United States. A significant majority of Americans consequently trace their heritage to one or more European states. Thus, the European nation-state is part of many Americans' own history. The term "nationality" in the United States, in fact, is typically thought to mean "ethnic heritage." I am often asked by Americans about my nationality, and my response is "Italian" even though I was born and raised in the United States.

Secondly, the United States public does not hear about the European Union in the arena of international affairs. Historically, the United States federal government in Washington was far more powerful in the area of foreign policy than it was within its own borders. To exaggerate only slightly, the government in Washington could send the Marines to Tripoli to fight pirates in 1805, but it could not give very many orders to the Pennsylvania state government.

Thus, for Americans the idea that the European Union is more powerful within its own territory than it is in the area of foreign policy seems very strange. In the international sphere, we hear about France or Britain or Germany rather than about the European Union as such. The European Union is not in the spotlight in international institutions with the important exception of the World Trade Organization, where the European Union is in fact a major player. I am personally delighted that the European Union is a member of the G20. However, we hear about European states rather than the European Union in the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the United Nations.

If we turn to the university and to international studies in particular, we find that the European Union does not have the same prominence as Latin America or Asia. Even in Departments of Political Science, many faculties know very little about the European Union. Hiring someone specialized in the European Union politics is relatively uncommon. European Union law faces many of the same challenges.

We should not be surprised as university curricula are tradition-bound and change very slowly. It does mean that the Jean Monnet program is especially important for those who are European Union experts, as it allows them to multiply their efforts. Jean Monnet Chairs allow the faculty holding the chairs to highlight the European Union, its importance, and its role in both European and global affairs. The Chairs, in other words, give the European Union visibility within the academic world.

Member States have preceded the European Union by establishing their own external education policy. We have some experience of this in the United States, Germany and France have both funded important educational projects—professors, centers, and institutes—to make sure that their language, history, and culture are taught in the United States. Other countries such as the United Kingdom, Austria, Italy, Spain, Greece, Sweden, and Denmark are also active.

When Japan became an important power in the post-World War II period, it provided monies to universities to teach about—and carry out research about—Japan. The University of Pittsburgh, for example, has far more money to teach and write about Japan than it has for the study of the European Union—in spite of the fact that Pittsburgh is the recipient of one of ten European Union Centers of Excellence in the United States in addition to a Jean Monnet Chair. China, for its part, is opening Confucius Institutes in the United States as well as in Europe and clearly will pay to promote the teaching of the Chinese language and culture.

Powerful states—and rising states—adopt an external education policy in order to ensure that relevant academic audiences will include them in the academic canon. Such states well understand that if university students learn about them, that knowledge will last a lifetime. Many of those students in fact will pursue careers which will allow them to keep informing others.

The Jean Monnet Programme's decision to become more global was a necessary step. It was also a visionary step. In fact, it preceded by five years the decision by the Commission's Directorate-General for Trade to publish *Global Europe*, a document which changed the direction of European Union's trade policy. The European Union's education policy had early on recognized a fundamental feature of today's world—we are in a global environment. Europeans can no longer assume that they are the center of the world and everyone will naturally learn about them. The European Union has rightly set up an infrastructure to ensure that the experience of European integration will be taught, discussed, and included in publications.

Some might argue that since many Europeans do not understand the European Union, Europeans themselves should represent the Jean Monnet's program primary audience. That position, I would argue, ignores the fact that the European Union is operating within a world in which emerging economic and geo-political powers are restructuring the world in which Jean Monnet professors of my generation came of age. I would argue, in fact, that the Jean Monnet Programme needs to do more externally, not less. Europeans know the European Union exists—but most students in the United States and Asia have never heard of the European Union.

The G-20 met in my hometown—Pittsburgh—in September 2009. If we consider the members of the G-20—other than those belonging to the G-8—we become aware of the world in which our students will grow old. India, China, Indonesia, Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, and South Africa are all members of the G20 as well as being developing countries. Their students need to be taught about the European Union by their own professors if the European Union is to remain relevant internationally and to protect its geo-economic and geo-political interests. One of the most important ways in which the European Union can exert “soft power” is through an external education policy.

The European Union represents, above all, an experiment which will be of interest to many living outside of Europe. Although it is unlikely that any region will copy the European Union's political trajectory, the European Union can provide an inspiration for new political and economic arrangements in the rest of the world. The Jean Monnet Programme is crucial in ensuring that the European Union model is taught, analyzed, and discussed globally. Without a robust European Union external

education policy, with the Jean Monnet Programme playing a central role, the fascinating experiment which the European Union represents will not attract the attention and focus it deserves.

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EUROPEAN STUDIES IN CHINA: DEVELOPMENT AND IMPLICATION

European Studies in China went through an interesting period of development. There have been four phases since the establishment of the People's Republic in 1949.

The first phase: the 1950s and 1960s

During this period, China had no formal diplomatic relations with most of the Western European countries and had direct military confrontation with many of them in Asia (with the United Kingdom, France, The Netherlands, Greece, Belgium, Luxemburg in Korea and with France in Indochina). Because of the East-West confrontation in 1950s and 1960s, the Western European countries were regarded as part of the Imperialist Camp led by the United States and the little brothers or even the hatchet dogs of the United States. There was no serious research on the Western Europe and European integration. The European Coal and Steel Community and European Economic Community were simply defined as the institutionalization of the state monopoly, Capitalism and the result of the contradiction between Western Europe and the United States.⁷

⁷ Professor Dai Bingran from Fudan University in Shanghai divided 1950s and 1960s into two phases. For the basic nature of European Studies in China there was actually no big difference. See Dai Bingran, 'European Studies in China', in David Shambaugh, Eberhard Sandschneider and Zhou Hong (eds.) *China-Europe Relations: Perceptions, policies and prospects* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 105-106

The second phase: the 1970s and 1980s

After President Richard Nixon's visit to China in 1972, the relationship between China and the Western world (the United States, Western Europe and Japan) changed tremendously. Guided by the "Three Worlds" theory of Mao Zedong, Western Europe was regarded as the Second World and part of the United Front against the Soviet Social-Imperialism. Chinese universities and research institutes started to pay attention to the European Communities and the European integration process. Fudan University in Shanghai established the first research institution for European Studies in 1977.

After the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), China started to re-establish its international studies in 1980s. European Studies was one of the reconstructions. But in 1980s, European Studies in China was not focused on European integration, but mainly on country studies such as British, French, German, Nordic studies and the studies on European international relations, especially the United States-European relationship. For many Chinese scholars, European integration was the main effective tool for Europeans to counter-balance the United States. The major objective of the European economic integration was to deal with the economic crisis in the capitalist world.

Although there was institutional build-up for European Studies in China in 1980s such as the Institute of Western European Studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, European Documentation Centre at Fudan University in Shanghai, China Association for Western European Studies, etc., most of the studies concentrated on Western European countries and there were very few researches on European integration. At the same time many Chinese scholars paid special attention to the social and economic model in Nordic countries, especially Sweden. The so-called "Swedish Model" was very popular in 1980s due to the efforts of Chinese intellectuals to promote social and political reform in China.⁸

⁸ There were more than 10 books published in 1980s on the Nordic or Swedish model. See Song Xinning, 'China's View of European Integration and Enlargement', in David Shambaugh, et al. *China-Europe Relations: Perceptions, policies and prospects*, p.179.

The third phase: the 1990s

The 1990s was the key period for the European Union-China relations and European Studies in China. There were several very important events that stimulated the European Studies in China.

Firstly, after the 1989 Tiananmen event the European Commission freezes its relations with China and imposes a number of sanctions, including an arms embargo. It is the first time for the European Communities Member States to act collectively towards China. China started to realize that it should not only deal with the major powers in Western Europe such as Great Britain, France, Germany, but also the European Communities and/or European Union. The European Community studies had become more politically relevant than ever before.

Secondly, the European integration developed rapidly and relatively smoothly due to the Maastricht Treaty and Amsterdam Treaty. The European Union replaced the European Communities. The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) became the second pillar and European Economic and Monetary Union had been on the agenda. Chinese scholars started to have more academic interests in European Studies.

Thirdly, following the New Asian Strategy in 1994 the European Commission set out its first China strategy in the 1995 Communication entitled "A Long Term Policy for China- Europe Relations". European Union-China relationship began to walk out of the shadow of the 1989 event and improved persistently in the second half of the 1990s. It was also in this period that the European Union and Chinese government launched the first European Union-China Higher Education Cooperation Programme (1997-2001). One of the major objectives of the Programme was to promote European Studies in China. More than 100 Chinese and European universities and research institutions, as well as 1000 Chinese and European scholars took part in the Programme.

In the 1990s, especially the second half of the decade, European Studies in China presented a picture of rapid development and flourish. About 20 centres of European Studies were established. Chinese scholars looked into European integration from

different perspectives such as political sciences, economics, law, international relations, sociology and history. At the beginning European Studies in China were characterized as more introductory and knowledgeable rather than theoretical and multi and/or inter-disciplinary.

The fourth phase: in the 2000s.

Entering into the 21st Century, European Studies in China do not always follow the evolution of the European Union-China relations, but expand due to a deep concern about the European experiences and its implication for China. Another feature is the effort to study European integration from more theoretical, methodological and multi-disciplinary approaches.

According to many Chinese scholars, European integration is a process by which independent sovereign states become a single sovereign entity (not necessary a new sovereign state). As the main actors in the process are sovereign states, it is a new kind of inter-state or international relations. As a process consisting of different sovereign states becoming a single sovereign or legal entity, it is inevitable to touch upon the transfer or share of the national sovereignties. It is also a process of comprehensive political, economic and social interaction at different levels. There is no simple or pure economic and political integration in the process. Economic integration concludes political integration, and political integration promotes the economic integration. In the process of integration, politics and economics always go along with each other. The political process needs the economic foundation, and the economic process needs the political and legal institutions as guarantee. The European Union is regarded as an entity of regional cooperation and a supranational institution.⁹

Comparative regional integration studies are a very new field of research in China. Many Chinese made comparison between the European Union and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation lacking a clear definition of 'integration' in 1990s. Currently, more attention is given to the comparative studies between Europe and East Asia¹⁰.

⁹ Song Xinning, 'Political Economy Approach to European Integration Studies', *International Perspective*, 5 (2005). See also Song Xinning, 'China's View of European Integration and Enlargement', in David Shambaugh, et al. *China-Europe Relations: Perceptions, policies and prospects*, pp.174-177.

¹⁰ Main Chinese publication include: Tang Bi, *Comparative Studies on Two Regional Economic Integration* (Beijing: China Economic and Finance Press, 2004); Xu Mingqi (ed.), *European Integration an Asia-Europe Relations* (Shanghai: Shanghai Social Science Press, 2007), Winfried Jung and Yan Jiangfeng (eds.), *Regional Cooperation: Experience in European and Practice in East*

Some people argued that it was incomparable because of the total different political, economic, social and cultural conditions. Others argued that the European experience had its universal value. Doing comparative regional integration studies did not mean copying the European model but learning the relevant examples.

Some Chinese are more interested in comparing Europe and China. The European Union is a community of 27 members with 493 million population and 4.2 millions of square kilometre territory. China has 31 provinces and autonomy regions with bigger population and larger territory. The European Union is a semi-supranational and semi-intergovernmental institution and China is an authoritarian one-party state. Is there any relevance to do comparative studies? The answer may be no. But more interestingly is the Chinese view of European models and their implications to China's domestic development and external relations. When Chinese discuss the European 'models', it means that there is not only one, but different kinds of European models which are relevant to China.

Main Characteristics of European Studies in China

The current European Studies in China can be characterized by three major features, compared to European studies in other Asian countries.

1. European Studies spread all over China within a relatively short period of time.

Before 1995, there were only five centres for European Studies in Chinese universities and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, plus several governmental research institutes. In 2009, the number of centres or institutes increased to more than 30, with seven Jean Monnet Professors and two Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence funded by the European Commission. Before 2000, the China Association for European Studies was active, with six sub-branch associations such as British Studies, German Studies, French Studies, Italian Studies, Nordic Studies and European Union Studies. Nowadays, the sub-branch association enlarged to 10, including European Politics and International Relations,

Asia (Beijing: China Economic Publishing House, 2007), Song Xinning and Luk Van Langenhove (eds.) *Comparative Regionalism: Europe and East Asia* (Beijing: China University of Political Science and Law Press, 2008).

European Legal Studies, European Economic Studies, European Social and Culture Studies.

From 2005, many Chinese universities started to have MA programmes on European Studies. Hundreds of undergraduate and graduate courses are offered in Chinese universities. There are thousands of Chinese publications on the European Union and European integration including articles in academic journals.

2. Chinese are more interested in European integration

According to a research project headed by Prof. Martin Holland of New Zealand on the images of the European Union in Asian Pacific, the European Union has the highest profile in China. It means that not only Chinese intellectuals but also the Chinese public know more about the European Union and have more interests than other Asian Pacific countries. What are the reasons for this?

Firstly, the rapid and smooth development of the European Union-China relations in the past decade, especially since 1995. The European Union-China relationship was regarded as the best bilateral relation of China's foreign relations, compared to the Sino-United States, Sino-Japanese and Sino-Russian relations by many Chinese. The European Union is the number one trade partner of China with 425 billions of \$US in 2008 and the most important technological supplier to China (about 50% since 1978 when China started its reform and open-up). In Chinese media, there was more positive news on Europe than negative ones. There were also good relations between China and major European Union Member States. Unfortunately, because of the problems during the Olympic torching in London and Paris, and especially the postponement of the European Union-China Summit due to the meeting of President Nicolas Sarkozy with Dalai Lama in 2008, the situation has been changed. Since then, there is more criticism in Chinese media on the European Union and Europe.

Secondly, to many Chinese it seems that we have more in common with Europe than any other major power in the world such as the United States, Russia or even Japan. Chinese like the European history, philosophy and culture more, even the political culture such as multilateralism and human rights.

Thirdly, the European experiences are more relevant to China's domestic development and foreign policy. These are the so-called European models. One of the dynamics of European Studies in China is to learn from the European experiences or European models in order to serve the development of China, economically, socially, even politically.

Conclusion

From later 1990s, European Studies in China have developed rapidly and smoothly. The reasons for it have to do not only with the funding received from the European Commission and Chinese government, the great improvement of European Union-China relations since 1995, the rapid growth of the European Union-China economic relations, but also with the interests of Chinese in learning from the European experiences. Comparing with the United States, Chinese are more interested in Europe in terms of history, cultural and the so-called European spirits of humanity and civilization. The pragmatic reason is that the European models are more relevant than the American ones to China especially in terms of domestic political and social development.

According to the recent surveys in China done by different institutions the image of the European Union enjoys the highest respect in China than in any other Asian Pacific country.¹¹ Among 600 college students interviewed by China Foreign Affairs University in 2005, 80% of them knew the European Union very well. 52% of them regarded the European Union as one "pole" of power in today's world. 65.82% of them regarded the European integration as an advantage in international affairs. 42.55% of them regarded the European way as the best model to deal with international affairs, 22% of them appreciated both the European and American way, and 26.18% of them were in favour of the American way. 62% of them viewed the European Union as the most important partner of China and 31% considered the European Union as a very important one.¹² A survey among Chinese public done by Chinese Academy of Social Science in 2007 showed a similar result. Most of the

¹¹ Martin Holland, Peter Ryan, Alojzy Nowak and Natalia Chaban (eds.), *The EU through the Eyes of Asia: Media, Public and Elite Interviews in China, Japan, Korea, Singapore and Thailand* (Warsaw: Warsaw University Press, 2007). More details can be seen from: http://esia.asef.org/AboutESiA_Meetings.htm#esiapublication

¹² Zhu Liqun, 'Chinese Perceptions of the EU and the China-EU Relationship', in David Shambaugh et al, *China-Europe Relations: Perceptions, Policies and Prospects*, pp.148-173.

Chinese gave relatively high marks to the Sino-European Union relations and were fairly optimistic towards the future of the bilateral relationship.¹³

Looking at the evolution of China's domestic political-social development and external relations, we can see the silhouette of the European models. But we cannot conclude that China has known the European experiences very well and follows the European models consciously. Due to sensitive political reasons, Chinese officials will not acknowledge it even they are doing so.

¹³ Research Group of the Institute of European Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Science, 'The Chinese Perception of the EU (2007): A Preliminary Analysis of the Survey on the Chinese Public Perception of the EU and Sino-EU Relations', *Chinese Journal of European Studies* 2 (2008), pp.1-52.

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THE GLOBAL JEAN MONNET NETWORK: ENHANCING THE INTERNATIONAL VISIBILITY AND UNDERSTANDING OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

I would like to congratulate the twenty years anniversary of the Jean Monnet Action and the Jean Monnet Programme. I also would like to join the people who have already expressed appreciation to those who have contributed to the Jean Monnet Action and the Jean Monnet Programme. M. Jacques Delors, President of the European Commission when the Jean Monnet Action started and M. Emil Noël, Secretary General of the Commission of the European Economic Community since it started and Rector of European University Institute in Florence at that time. As many have already done, I would like to express my appreciation for Mme. Jacqueline Lastenouse for making this transnational network of academics possible with her imagination, courage and energy. I am so glad to be acquainted with her since 1983, and I am proud to say publicly that I am one of Jacqueline's children.

In Japan, we established the Japan Association of European Community Studies in 1980 with the kind support of the Delegation of the European Commission in Tokyo, and we are going to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of its establishment as European Union Studies Association-Japan in coming November. When we started, we had only about 150 members, and now we have more than 500 members, specializing in Economics, Political Science, International Relations, Law, History and Sociology etc.

Jean Monnet is not so famous in Japan. There had been a bridged edition of his Memoirs translated in Japanese in the middle of 1980's but the full translation was finally published only in 2008. So, when I exchange my name cards with Japanese people, almost all of them ask me what a Jean Monnet Chair is. Thus, the title of Jean Monnet Chair gives me the opportunity to begin the conversation.

Anyway, there are only four Japanese Jean Monnet Chairs, including Prof. Kumiko Haba in the floor, although there are seven Jean Monnet Chairs in China as Prof. Xinning Song has reported. And we have only one Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence at Keio University, where I belong, since September 2007, comparing to two Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence in China. The main reason for less representation as Jean Monnet Chairs and Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence is the traditional division of disciplines in Japanese universities. There are many qualified academics, but they teach the European Union affairs as part of their courses in International Economics, International Relations, International Law or Diplomatic History etc. Only large universities can afford to have special courses or seminars on European Union Economy, European Union Politics, European Union Law or European Integration History etc. Therefore, the required qualifications for Jean Monnet Chair and Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence have been comparatively high hurdles to overcome for Japanese professors and institutes

Therefore, Japanese academics go for other funds to promote European Union Studies in Japan, especially with financial assistance by Directorate General for External Relations. Two European Union Institutes in Japan (EUIJ) were established, in Tokyo (Hitotsubashi University, International Christian University, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies and Tsuda College) in 2003 and in Kansai (Kobe University, Osaka University and Kwansei Gakuin University) in 2004. And we have been now in the second phase of the European Union Institute in Japan project for four and a half years since December 2008. European Union Institute in Japan (Kansai) has been extended for the second term and European Union Institute in Japan at Waseda University and European Union Studies Institute in Tokyo (European Union Studies Institute with Hitotsubashi University, Keio University and Tsuda College) have been newly established. In addition to three European Union Institutes in Japan, three European Union Centres have also been established in Korea as Prof. Woosik Moon

has reported. And we are now analyzing the possibilities to cooperate in the 3+3 format.

Anyway, the European Commission has been very smart and successful to spread the idea of the European Union and European integration through academics even outside Europe with small amounts of money. Perhaps, honour and prestige matter more than money for academics. Prof. Alberta Sbragia has reported financial supports in Japanese Studies and Languages in the United States, although I don't find them as successful as she evaluates, because our Government and Ministry of Education have not a systematic strategy as the European Commission.

As you may know, there was a general election in Japan at the end of August. The long reign of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) is now over. There will be a new Coalition Government, with the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) as a main party. The Leader of the DPJ, Mr. Yukio Hatoyama, will be nominated as Prime Minister of Japan in ten days time (16.09.2009). One of the tradition in Hatoyama family has been "fraternity", originally from the famous "liberté, égalité, fraternité" in French Revolution. This key word has been transcended from Yukio's grandfather, Mr. Ichiro Hatoyama, who had also been Prime Minister of Japan in the 1950's. Mr. Ichiro Hatoyama had been acquainted with Count Richard Nicolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi, who had written *Pan Europa* in 1923 and had promoted European integration as political movement in Europe and later in the United States. Incidentally, Richard's mother was Japanese, Mitsuko, and was married with an Austrian-Hungarian Diplomat in Tokyo and Richard himself was born in Tokyo.

Then, the idea of "fraternity" has been a family tradition. I am not sure whether a new Prime Minister and his DPJ Coalition Government will encourage European Union Studies in Japan or not. But, Mr. Yukio Hatoyama has been contributing articles, writing that we must return to the idea of "fraternity", spread the idea not only in Japan but to our neighbouring region, and create an "East Asian community" with a common Asian currency in the future. So, we are now watching the revival of the old idea of Count Coudenhove-Kalergi in Japan after more than 80 years. We are not sure whether it will be a haunted ghost or will become an imaginative reality or not. We have to wait and see. In the meantime, the European Union is not the only "model" for Asians to emulate. But, it will surely be used as "benchmarks" or

“reference” when we are going to proceed for more cooperation and/or integration in our region.

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Jean Monnet Chair ad
Personam
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Twenty Years Jean Monnet Project in Canada

I was asked to reflect on the Jean Monnet Project in Canada. The first thing that came to mind was to ask a few return questions to the audience. I have four questions.

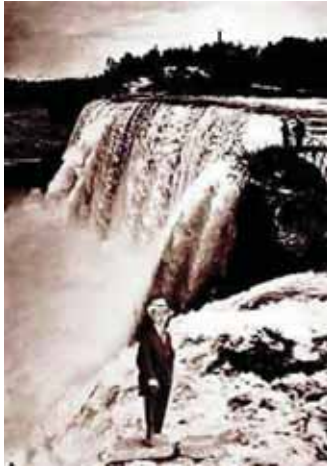
My first question to you all is: Which was the first industrialized 'third country' to sign a Partnership Agenda with the European Economic Community (EEC)? The answer may surprise you. It is: Canada. In 1976 Canada signed a Partnership Agenda with the European Economic Community.

My second question is: Where do you think the first Jean Monnet Chair was outside the European Union? And the answer is: Canada. Professor Panayotis Soldatos was awarded a Jean Monnet Chair Université de Montréal in 1992 (he is currently at the Université de Lyon).

My third question: Where do you think the first North American Jean Monnet Chair Centre of Excellence is located? Answer: Canada. It was awarded to the University of Victoria in 2004.

And my final question (you know the answer though likely not the question), which country did Jean Monnet visit between 1907-1914? CANADA!

¹⁴ The author wishes to thank David Long, Hans Michelmann, and Steven B. Wolinetz for useful comments and suggestions on an earlier version of this paper.



Monnet traveled in Canada as a Cognac Merchant between 1907-1914 gaining experience about migration and cultural integration and cooperation. The photo above depicts Jean Monnet in front of the Niagara Falls in 1907 (reproduced by Ugland (forthcoming) credits: Jean Monnet Foundation for Europe in Lausanne, Switzerland).

With these four questions I hope to have demonstrated to you that Europe-Canada collaboration, the Jean Monnet Programme, indeed the very person of Jean Monnet have been very important to Canada.

To provide an overview of the influence of the Jean Monnet Project grants in Canada I have organized my presentation around four further questions:

- 1) What was the state of European integration studies in Canada about 20 years ago?
- 2) What has the Jean Monnet Project funded in Canada?
- 3) What other developments on European Union studies have occurred, apart from the Jean Monnet Project, that are synergetic?
- 4) In conclusion, what has the Jean Monnet Project done to develop European Studies in Canada?

To address these four questions I have subdivided my presentation into four parts:

- 1) History
- 2) Jean Monnet Project Grants
- 3) Synergies

4) The Future

1) Historical Overview

By means of providing a background to the lay of the land in Canada at the start of the Jean Monnet Programme, twenty years ago, let me provide you with an overview of the situation in Canada in 1989 regarding the study of European Integration.

Among the founding fathers of European integration studies in Canada were Panayotis Soldatos of the Université de Montréal and Charles Pentland of Queen's University (Kingston). Their efforts led to the establishment in 1977 of the *Journal of European Integration/ Revue d'intégration européenne*, and to the founding in 1980 of the Canadian Council for European Affairs/Conseil canadienne des Affaires européennes. That organization, encouraged and supported by the Delegation of the European Commission in Ottawa, affiliated representatives of industry, universities and government, regularly organised conferences on such topics as "Doing Business with Europe" and subsidised the publication of the Journal, then headquartered in Montreal. By 1983 the Journal, under the co-editorship of Hans Michelmann and Panayotis Soldatos, was headquartered at the University of Saskatchewan, as was the Canadian Council for European Affairs with Professor Michelmann as Director General. In 1997 the editorial office of the Journal, which by then had been published in Canada for twenty years, was moved to the University of Essex where it was located for many years under the editorship and direction of Professor Emil Kirchner. The Canadian connection was maintained because Professor Michelmann remained as an editor and other Canadian remained members of the Journal's editorial board.¹⁵ The Canadian Council for European Affairs was dissolved in 2002 because by then the European Community Studies Association – Canada (ECSA-C) had been well established as the preeminent organization in the field of European Union studies in Canada.

Then, as already mentioned, in 1992 came the first Jean Monnet Chair to Canada, to Montreal, as first held by Soldatos; later, when Professor Soldatos left, the Chair was taken over by Professor Nanette Neuwahl.

¹⁵ When the *Journal of European Integration/Revue d'intégration Européenne* eventually moved from Canada to the UK its French name was silently dropped. A couple of years ago the journal moved to the University of Maastricht, and came under the editorship of Thomas Christiansen. When the journal moved to the UK it transferred to Taylor and Francis (after a brief stint from 1998 to 2001 during which time it was published by Harwood Academic). It is currently in its 33rd year publication and will soon be ranked in the ISI Thompson rankings.

Another important development in 1994-1995 was the initiative to create a European Community Studies Association – Canada (ECSA-C) undertaken by Professors Steven B. Wolinetz and Hans Michelmann. ECSA-C was founded in 1996, and had Professor Wolinetz from Memorial University Newfoundland serving as its first President for four years.¹⁶

Until 1996 there were very few courses offer on European integration. Other than some 'minors' in European Studies there were no European integration studies programmes. There were some European Studies Programmes but they were in the humanities and focused mostly on language and culture.

Then in 1998, the Commission of the European Communities, Directorate General I ("DG I" for short, now named "DG External Relations" or "DG Relex") provided funding for a first European Union Centre grant to the University of British Columbia (UBC). It was a one-year try-out grant. By 1999 a first Canadian competition for European Union Centres grants was born.

2) Jean Monnet Project

2a) Jean Monnet Chairs

Though the Jean Monnet Project started in Canada in 1992 with the first Jean Monnet Chair, as was mentioned above, the programme only started in earnest in 2001, with two Jean Monnet Chairs being appointed 2001: Professor John Praetschke was awarded a Jean Monnet Chair (Economics) in European Integration Studies, at the University of Guelph and in the same year this author was awarded Jean Monnet Chair in European Integration Studies (Interdisciplinary) University of Victoria (UVic). By 2002 another Jean Monnet Chair was awarded to Professor Armand de Mestral, this time in Law of International Economic Integration, at McGill University. In 2006 another Jean Monnet Chair was awarded to the University of Victoria this time an interdisciplinary Jean Monnet Chair in Politics and History (awarded to Oliver Schmidtke). In 2007 the first Jean Monnet Chair Ad Personam was

¹⁶ ECSA-C is the single most important European studies association in Canada. It holds regular biennial meetings, usually with about 100-150 participants. Its current President is Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly of the University of Victoria. Its major conference is the 8th Biennial Conference on the theme 'Whither Europe?' which was held in Victoria, BC from 29 April to 1 May 2010. More information on ECSA-C can be found here: <http://web.uvic.ca/ecsac/>.

awarded to Professor and Canada Research Chair holder Finn Laursen (Political Science) at Dalhousie University. York University got its first Jean Monnet Chair in European Integration (Political Science) in 2008 that went to Willem Maas. That same year Nanette Neuwahl was awarded another Jean Monnet Chair in European Union at the Université de Montreal, this time with a clear Law focus. In 2008, the second Jean Monnet Chair ad Personam (Political Science) was appointed, this time at the Université de Montreal to Professor George W. Ross who had just arrived in Montreal from a prior position in the United States. Finally, in 2009 I was awarded the third Jean Monnet Chair ad Personam (Interdisciplinary) at the University of Victoria.

2b) Jean Monnet Modules

Since the early 2000s, as many as eight modules were funded in Canada. In 2001, Professor David Long (then the President of European Community Studies Association - Canada) received a grant for an interdisciplinary course 'The European Union in International Affairs', taught at Carleton University. That same year, the former European Community Studies Association - Canada President, Steven B. Wolinetz, was awarded a grant to teach at Memorial University the interdisciplinary module 'European Studies 2000: Europe in the Twentieth Century'. The next year a grant went to Oliver Schmidtke at the University of Victoria for an interdisciplinary course 'European Integration and the roots of European identity'. The year 2004 would be the year in which four module awards went to four British Columbia courses: in 2004 the first award went to a community college, Kwantlen College: Professor Noemi Gal-Or received funding for her initiative 'European Integration Visiting Professor' in Political and Administrative studies, which enabled her to bring professors from all over to co-teach a European integration course. In the same year Professor G. Cornelis van Kooten received a grant for a team-taught course 'Economics and the European Union', a purely Economics course taught at the University of Victoria. Simon Fraser University received a grant for a course led by Professor Alexander Moens entitled 'A Survey of the Politics of the European Union', (Political and Admin). The fourth grant that year went to Professor Ljiljana Biukovic of University of British Columbia, who was successful with obtaining funding for a Law course entitled 'External Relations of European Union'. Finally, in 2005 Martha O'Brien, Professor of Law at the University of Victoria, was awarded a grant for her Jean Monnet Module 'Law of the European Union'.

2c) Jean Monnet Project – Other

Not only did Canada gain a lot of support through the Jean Monnet Programme *per se* (the Jean Monnet Chair and Jean Monnet Module part of the programme), a number of grants also went to Canada through the programme that now is clearly identified as the Jean Monnet Project but at the time was referred to as budget line A-3022 grants. These included grants to European Community Studies Association - Canada (for example in 2002 a National ECSA Network Activities; a five year grant for ECSA-C). European Community Studies Association - Canada also received support for its conferences in the 1990s, generous conference grants throughout the 2000s. Soon these A-3022 grants were folded into the general Jean Monnet Project programme, so that they became an integral part of it. Canadian scholars still applied (and won) grants for various conference and network activities throughout the world, for instance European Studies activities that took place in China and Japan.

By 2004 the first Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence (JMCE) was awarded to the University of Victoria, and in 2006 the UVIC JMCE secured a research grant with two other Jean Monnet partner for a project on 'Governance and Policy-making in the European Union.

3) Synergies

The Jean Monnet Project was not the only programme to support European Studies' activities in Canada. As was already mentioned, in Canada funding of European integration studies also was provided by another Commission Directorate-General; the DG for external relations (which was first named DG-I later renamed DG-Relex).

Relex European Union Centres Grants: In 1998 came the first try-out EU Centre Grant given to University of British Columbia.. By 2000 four European Union Centres Grants were awarded in Canada, namely, Carleton, McGill/Montreal, Toronto/York, University of British Columbia (with University of Victoria and Simon Fraser University (SFU) as minor partners). In 2003, the Commission awarded five EU Centres Grants: Carleton, McGill/Montreal, Toronto/York, University of British Columbia and University of Victoria. In 2006 only four European Union Centres Grants were made available. They went to Carlton, Dalhousie, McGill/Montreal, and Toronto. In 2009, the competition was called and five Centres won their bids: Carleton; Dalhousie, Montreal, a consortium of the University of Toronto and the University of Victoria, and the fifth one went to York University.

Besides these Centres grants, Canadians have benefited from other funds. They have been supported with occasional grants from DG Relex, in particular the Canada-European Union Public Diplomacy Grants. These grants are directed to Canadian institutions of higher education for media dissemination, conferences, youth mobilisation, study tours, et cetera. There have also been Canada-European Union programmes 'Canada-EU Cooperation in Higher Education and Training programme' (funded on the Canadian side by Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC) and on the European Commission side DG Education and Training). Also, Canadians participate in European Union Visitors' programmes. Furthermore Canadians participate as external experts in Framework Programmes (research). Finally, Canadians have been able to leverage the European Union support by coordinating efforts and apply for major Canadian funding through other sources (both within and outside their home university). Most notably, perhaps, is a grant won by a large cross country mostly Canadian group of European Studies scholars, representing current and former European Union Centres as well as individual researchers, who have been awarded a grant for 2.1 million Canadian dollars from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council for the creation of a seven year pan-Canadian 'knowledge cluster'.

4) How has the Jean Monnet Project helped develop European Studies? The Jean Monnet Project has been instrumental in developing European Studies in a number of ways. It has created various Jean Monnet Chairs, who have increased the standing of European Union teaching and research in Canada and abroad. It is perhaps noteworthy that the programme itself has, on the one hand, enhanced the ability to teach European integration in one's own university. The reason is that a Jean Monnet Chair has an obligation to teach 120 hours of European integration. On the other hand, this requirement to teach 120 hours of European integration every year over five years is sufficiently restrictive that a number of scholars (Chairs, Deans, to name but a few) but also those who need to teach other courses because of the demands in their department, cannot be that focused on teaching that many hours of European integration. Thus, even if they are outstanding scholars of European integration they will no longer be bothered with applying if they do not even meet that basic criterion.

The Jean Monnet Module part of the programme created various Jean Monnet Modules that enabled things to happen that would not have been possible without that support. This support is particularly useful for those scholars who have been unable to teach (almost) exclusively European integration courses (as in the case of the Jean Monnet Chairs). In some cases instructors would simply not have been allowed to teach that much European

Union issues. In other cases, it would have not been possible to provide the content it now offers. Another result is that there are now more courses on European Union related topics than before. These courses stay on the books years after the grants are over.

European Studies have also been developed via the funds for research and associations that facilitate research dissemination, cooperation, networking by Canadian on non-Canadian scholars and graduate students. Networking is particularly costly in Canada because of the large (wide geographical) size of the country and therefore the fact that many European studies scholars are spread out across the country, as well as the fact that there are so many time zones. In other words, the Jean Monnet support has brought Canadians closer to one another, thereby facilitating knowledge about one another's research, teaching and outreach.

Finally, the Jean Monnet project funding has increased salience of European integration studies in Canada very substantially. We have witnessed the creation of new programmes; new courses; an increasing number of professors' appointments in the area of European integration; even the creation of various Canada Research Chairs on European integration (Dalhousie) or on related topics such as immigration and migration (Toronto). As a former European Community Studies Association - Canada President put it:

'it is certainly the case that European Union studies have been transformed over the last decade or so - at least if my experience at Carleton is anything to go by. The grants have created an environment where there are consistently speakers coming through, visiting professors, and programs that did not exist previously. The level and nature of the activity is qualitatively different. This means European Studies - and more particularly EU studies - have a profile they did not have 20 years ago. Our university administration knows about our program and values it - I am sure yours does too. This level of awareness at senior levels is a product of the Jean Monnet Project'.¹⁷

5) Conclusion: Jean Monnet Project and Canada?

The Jean Monnet Project and related European Union programmes have made transformed the higher education landscape of Canada over the past two decades. Canadian researchers have always had an interest in the European Union, but the programmes and recent developments have focused the attention of researchers, students and university administrations alike.

¹⁷ David Long, email correspondence with the author, 2009.

Notwithstanding that interest, before listening to this presentation it may have come as a surprise to some to learn that the first Jean Monnet Chair and the first Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence in North America were in Canada – not in the United States. Yet, I would argue that it is not so very strange. I mentioned in my introduction that the first partnership agreement in 1976 was with Canada. It was perhaps a sense of mutual closeness that drew the two entities together. But beyond those high-level institutional, economic and political motivations of cooperation, I would argue that Canada has always been very much interested in the European Union.

Canada is in many ways closer to the European Union than that the United States is. This can be demonstrated by making the comparison between Canada and the United States on some key issues. Such as Canada has for many decades had general healthcare for all Canadian residents, which is rather different from that of the United States before Obama. Canada seeks to have a smaller difference between the rich and poor than does the United States. Canada greatly values various characteristics of social fabric of society such as a functioning welfare state, ensuring that there is universal education for all through a system of high quality mostly public schools and mostly public universities, finding it acceptable to have a higher rate of progressive income taxation than what the United States tolerates, and so on. In other words, on a number of these landmarks, Canada resembles more the European Union than it does the United States. In many ways one could argue that Canada's choices in governance end up being half way between those of the European Union and the United States. Given the salience of the United States (its geographical location, its 'pull' because of its global power, its economic dominance over the past decades, its leading universities and cutting edge (albeit exorbitantly costly) healthcare, Canada could have easily been veering off in the direction of the United States rather than staying where it is – in between the European Union and the United States. It is therefore most appreciated by scholars, students and university administration that the Jean Monnet Project has offered leverage for Canadian universities, funding agents, students, to maintain that link with European Union and not be pulled exclusively in the direction of the United States.

I will close with a plea to you all, to read Trygve Ugland's absolutely fascinating story about Jean Monnet's travel to Canada, leaving you to guess what relevance his trip may have had for the integration of Europe...

6) References:

Ugland, Trygve (forthcoming), *Jean Monnet and Canada: The Father of Europe and His Canadian Inspiration*, Book series: European Union Studies (series editors: Jeffrey Kopstein and Amy Verdun) Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Useful websites:

Jean Monnet database:

<http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/llp/jeanmonnet/directory>

[type in “Canada” in the search engine]

European Community Studies Association -Canada:

<http://web.uvic.ca/ecscac/>

DG Relex website: http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/canada/index_en.htm

In particular: EU Centres of Canada:

http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/canada/eucentres_en.htm

SSHRC Cluster website:

<http://www.carleton.ca/europecluster/>

IV. The Jean Monnet Network and the Evolving European Union: Accompanying the European Union's Key Policy Choices

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LE RESEAU JEAN MONNET ET L'EVOLUTION DE L'UNION EUROPEENNE: L'ACCOMPAGNEMENT DES PRIORITES POLITIQUES DE L'UNION EUROPEENNE

Nous allons discuter et débattre d'un sujet complètement neuf, le Traité de Lisbonne. J'espère qu'après cette discussion, ce sera la dernière fois que nous parlerons du Traité de Lisbonne comme d'une espérance et que la prochaine fois que nous nous rencontrerons, le Traité de Lisbonne sera effectivement en place après toutes les péripéties que nous avons connues. Mais je dirais que cela est aussi une des prérogatives et des traditions de l'Union européenne de fixer des horizons très ambitieux et très lointains; ça a été d'ailleurs une démarche assez systématique : il est toujours plus difficile d'accepter le présent qu'un futur que nous n'aurons pas à gérer éventuellement nous-mêmes; et le Traité de Lisbonne, outre les innovations inscrites dans son texte introduira certainement des transformations que nous ne soupçonnons pas encore. Une fois libérées de leurs géniteurs les Institutions ont aussi leur vie propre comme nous l'enseigne 50 ans d'intégration européenne.

Ceci dit, je crois qu'il ne faut pas malgré tout attendre trop de miracles de ce traité. Ce traité introduit évidemment un certain nombre d'améliorations, de changements, et sera la base pour de futurs changements, mais rappelez-vous quand toute cette aventure de la réforme des traités a commencé à la fin des années 90, on parlait d'un traité consolidé et simplifié pour reprendre les termes du mandat d'études confié par la Commission puis par le Parlement européen à l'Institut de Florence. Au terme d'une

décennie de cheminement il y a certes un peu de consolidation mais il n'y aura certainement pas de simplification, nous en sommes déjà sûrs et certains.

Ce que l'on peut constater aussi et cela a été très bien souligné dans un papier récent par Bruno De Witte, c'est que les institutions européennes se caractérisent de plus en plus par une certaine inflexibilité, une très très grande rigidité. Nous savons que les Constitutions dans le monde entier sont plus rigides, sont moins souples que les règles normales; mais il y a peu d'exemples de règles de nature constitutionnelle ou quasi constitutionnelle comme dans l'Union européenne qui soient affectées d'une telle rigidité dans leur élaboration, dans leur adoption et ensuite dans leur mise en œuvre. Le système tend à devenir de plus en plus « gelé », et les espaces, les interstices dans lesquels en général les acteurs politiques essayent de se mouvoir pour améliorer le fonctionnement des institutions, ces interstices deviennent de plus en plus minces et de plus en plus étroits. Ce qui est aussi plus préoccupant, c'est que cette rigidité que nous constatons au niveau constitutionnel s'étend de plus en plus à l'ensemble des règles de nature législative ou de nature réglementaire de l'Union européenne.

Il y a probablement une explication fondamentale qui a été donnée à cette rigidité croissante et à cette précision des règles par Giandomenico Majone il y a quelques années. Il expliquait alors le caractère extrêmement détaillé et précis des directives européennes par l'absence de confiance entre les partenaires autour de la table. Quand vous n'êtes pas absolument certain de la bonne foi présente ou future de vos partenaires, vous tendez à insérer, je dirai jusque dans le plus infime détail, toutes les règles du jeu. Bien entendu il y a la revanche du principe de réalité, c'est-à-dire que très souvent ces règles deviennent inapplicables et on assiste ensuite au niveau de la mise en œuvre à toutes sortes de distorsions volontaires ou involontaires de la part des acteurs; on le voit tous les jours en matière de politique européenne. Comme l'a dit admirablement un de mes compatriotes Alexis De Tocqueville vers les années 1840, à propos de l'administration française, mais je crois que cela pourrait s'appliquer aussi à l'Union européenne "la règle est rigide et la pratique est molle". Sauf que, en ce qui concerne l'Union européenne, très souvent la règle est rigide mais la pratique l'est rigide aussi... sauf au niveau national où les états prennent parfois leurs aises avec le droit de l'Union.

When welcoming our students last week in Florence I mentioned that we all talk about Europe but that we all have different narratives about it. Even the words are given different meanings. Let's take for instance the reference to the myth of Europe. The British are talking about the rape of Europe, the Italians talk about "il ratto d' Europa" which means rapture and not a rape. And the French refer to it as "le ravissement de l'Europe", which is a very ambiguous wording because it means both: rapture but also pleasure, seduction. Where is the truth? So everyone has a different history about Europe and unfortunately or fortunately, we are going through this experience of adjusting our different narratives.

As regards the challenges that Europe has to face and their context, we started to reform the institutions and to think about the Constitution or about the Lisbon Treaty in a very different context. Today it has changed quite radically. I have argued in the past that the engines of the European Union were both crises on one hand and bureaucratic incrementalism on the other hand. From time to time a big crisis blows up and the European Union has often been able to make a big leap in order to face a serious and unforeseen challenge. 1989 from this point of view was rather topical. The fall of the Berlin wall took everybody by surprise but once the political decision taken, the enlargement procedures proceeded in a rather mechanical way, chapter after chapter so that by 2004 it was completed. This time, we are again in the middle of a big financial and economic crisis but at this point in time it is unclear if the Union will be able to exploit the momentum to strengthen itself or if it will be unable to be up to the challenges. But we will see, it's too early to foresee what road Europe will take.

I think that there is always a risk. Risk, but also illusions about the capacity of the European Union to tackle issues and to solve problems simply by internalising these issues or problems. For instance the issue of minorities in Eastern Europe does not disappear just because they have been integrated within the European Union. The problem remains and as we have seen for instance in the case of the Basque country or even of Northern Ireland. The European Union has been relatively powerless in spite of its financial support to these regions. Probably, there are too many expectations given the limited political capacity of the European Union along with the bad state of democratic politics everywhere; there is a huge transformation of parties, of the electoral behaviour. The European Union is partly paying the price of the electoral volatility, of the incapacity of the political parties at the national level to frame

the debate and to influence the behaviour of people. The European Union has to fix the institutions while managing the many issues which pop up everyday.

It reminds me of a Roland Barthes' observation, who once noted that in the myth of Argos, the Argonauts were repairing the boat while sailing and that at the end, the boat was different but at the same time, apparently looking the same. It's a bit the same in Europe. We are trying to fix the boat in the storm while continuing our road. At the end of the trip, we are still talking about the European Union even if it has taken a different shape.

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THE MAKING OF THE EUROPEAN UNION SYSTEM REFLECTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR ACADEMIC CONTRIBUTIONS

1. Looking back on a major research object

a. Push and pull factors of research on system-making

An anniversary is a useful and stimulating occasion to look back at the work and performance of our Jean Monnet network. In view of many variations and conjunctures we can discern one persistent pattern and topic: Right from the start of the integration process in the fifties, lawyers and political scientist have dealt with the “constitutional issue”. The nature and the finalité of this political system sui generis have increasingly attracted the attention of scholars from several countries and disciplines. Within this broad debate a major topic remains the analysis and assessment of the European Union institutional architecture – especially in view of what the high contracting parties have formulated as an objective of the Lisbon Treaty: “desiring to enhance further the democratic and efficient functioning of the institutions so as to enable them better to carry out, within a single institutional framework, the tasks entrusted to them”¹⁸.

The research on the issue which I call ‘system-making’ was part of intensive reflection. Beyond the everyday debate about ‘policy-making’ in the European Union, the

¹⁸ Treaty of Lisbon 2008: preamble, indent 7.

theoretical assumptions and 'strategic choices' underlying the evolution of the European Union polity over the last six decades were a major object of high attention. Theorising European integration was and is a challenging undertaking; it has proceeded from various starting points concerning the nature of the phenomenon in question: The European Union as a polity *sui generis* has subsequently been labelled as an international organisation, an instance of regionalism, or as a technical agency.¹⁹ Authors used terms like "more than a regime and less than a federation"²⁰, "a political system but not a state"²¹, a "federation d'états-nations"²² or "Staatenverbund" (an association of national sovereign states)²³. The analogy of blind men grasping each different parts of an elephant is used regularly in the political science literature.²⁴

In our research on this beast we must be aware that the European Union is a 'moving target'. This adds a major difficulty: Our approach must necessarily take account of changes as the object of study develops. The European polity is situated in a constant process of change – sudden or gradual – through treaty revisions or other forms of political reform. Some of our approaches may thus become obsolete²⁵ as the object they capture might wither away. The evolution of our theoretical *acquis* is therefore partly driven by the evolution of the European Union itself. 'Pull' factors from the transformation of the European Union system induce scientists to focus on certain institutions or process that attain political relevance at the respective time. Some historians of the discipline have pointed to the coincidence of an integrative phase in European politics throughout the 1950s and early 1960s and the simultaneous prominence of (neo-) functionalist theory in integration studies. Similarly, the reversion to intergouvernementalist explanations of European integration during the 1970s and early 1980s has been linked with a European 'dark ages' of widespread 'Eurosclerosis'. Yet again, the recent explosion in European studies (including renewed attempts at theorising system-making) not surprisingly coincides with a significant increase in relevance of European policy-making in every-day social,

¹⁹ See for a collection e.g. Wessels 2008: 27-28.

²⁰ Wallace 1983: 403.

²¹ Hix 2005: 2-5.

²² Delors 2004; Quermonne 2005.

²³ Federal Constitutional Court of Germany 2009: headnote 1.

²⁴ See e.g. Nugent/Paterson/Egan 2010.

²⁵ Cf. Haas 1975 on the apparent obsolescence of neo-functionalism in the 1970s.

economic and political life in Europe as well as several attempts of system-making via treaty revisions and reforms.

However, what phases and aspect in the political process of integration we actually identify will again depend on which aspects of the system-making we concentrate on with our academic methods. Our sensibility to make out which changes in the process of European integration are to be classified as important does not necessarily and automatically coincide with political cycles. Certain 'push' factors from within the discipline induce scientists to focus on institutions and processes that *can* be analyzed and assessed employing the methodological tools at hand. This does not mean that those are – in hindsight – necessarily the most relevant ones. Scientists have therefore overlooked some developments simply because an approach which they thought to be appropriate or academically correct was not at their disposal or on their agenda. Hence, the importance of the European Court of Justice and the European Council in the course of integration was only 'discovered' after its impact became politically manifest. 'Pull' factors from the political system are thus mitigated by the array of approaches that are at the disposal of contemporary scientists.

Another distinction can be applied to the 'push' factors emanating from within the discipline: different sub-disciplines bring with them a different array of theoretical views. Thus, the prominence of International Relations scholars in early integration theory partly accounts for the dominance of the three 'grand-theories' of European integration which were applied to a process of integration that appeared to be an – ordinary or revolutionary – exercise in international politics. By the same token, the recent influx of the 'new institutionalism' and the so-called 'governance' approach in European studies can partly be explained by pointing to the heightened interest of scholars from the sub-discipline of comparative politics in the emerging political system that is the European Union.

Consequently, the political object in question and the attempts at analysing and assessing it do not exist independently of one another. Rather, they feed back onto one another in such tight circles that it becomes obscure which one represents the hen and which one the egg.

b. Fascination and Frustration of the multi -polar state of the Art

In view of these conditions it is therefore helpful to sketch some elements of the state of our art in the moment of entering into force of the Lisbon treaty as the latest step in quasi- constitutional system-making. What might be called 'acquis académique' (in analogy to Euro-speak) offers a strange mixture of trends: Over the last decades we observe a multitude of theoretical approaches. We find a rich menu of empirical analyses and thick descriptions as well as several sets of political narratives, ideological visions, "Leitbilder" (world visions), constitutional ideas and norms. Linked with this we identify reflected strategies for further system-making. The variations are enlarged by a broad range of methods applied to explore, explain, evaluate and extrapolate the insights into the European Union system and its environment.

At the same time the borders of the accepted state of the art are certainly ambiguous. Like in all sciences, many on the academic market try to define what is appropriate in term of theory and method, but the norms are not clearly defined and – in any case – the entry to it is wide open. One – meta-theoretical – concern affects the core of the Jean Monnet activities: are "normative" contributions about the "best" form of the further constitutional and institutional architecture academically appropriate and correct? With a view on analyses, assessments and advice – not later than from the Tindemans report onwards – scholars have not hesitated to leave their "ivory towers" to participate actively and substantially in debate about system-making.

Timing, design and the targeting of contributions to system-making were and are significantly influenced by the pull from a considerable list of political initiatives. Official plans and activities to revise and amend the Treaties invite the academic world again and again to focus on demands of the political agenda. The pre-treaty initiatives like the Solemn declaration of Stuttgart and the treaty reforms from the Single European Act until the Lisbon Treaty offered a rich field for analyses and assessments, though the real impact of academic contributions on the political actions of system-making certainly needs further research.

One sensation of looking at the state of the art is obvious: The picture of approaches related to the construction of this political system *sui generis* is marked by varied theoretical traditions, by an impressive vitality, frequent academic turns and a diversity, which generates a considerable degree of confusion and fragmentation. It is fascinating to observe a research area in full evolution with many stimulating and

thought raising offers in strong competition for attention and dominance. Another view of this *acquis* is however frustrating: if you look for an easy way through the maze, efforts to clearly identify schools and phases of theoretical developments might be helpful to open gates for a first survey and general classification, but it is difficult to take them as a guide through an ever wider set of multi-faceted and diverging offers. Some traditions vanish while others remain – and so do conventional cleavages of schools in the *acquis*.

Another general observation can be drawn: A growing number of academic institutions all over Europe and beyond²⁶ have contributed to this ‘*grand débat européen*’. The wider European academic research area has come to be remarkably shaped by a comprehensive Europeanization and even globalization. With English as a *lingua franca* and modern forms of technology the networks have been deepened and widened. Thus the relevant market for academic offers and demands has grown considerably with several forms of exchanges between the political and the academic world.

Depending on one’s stance, the state of the discourse on constitutional issues can be described as open and pluralistic or as anarchical and fragmented. As recurrent deficits one can observe that preliminary or partial results of single studies are seldom taken up and integrated into a clearly defined stock. A number of captivating insights and inspiring ‘takes’ of the European Union’s reality are, thus, quite simply lost; the still relevant works by C.J. Friedrich and K.W. Deutsch are mentioned from time to time but most often not taken as serious starting point; also contributions from the “dark ages (of integration)”²⁷ of the seventies and early eighties²⁸ as well as from critical Marxist theory are forgotten or neglected even in times of economic crises. Contributions in other languages than in English are not really integrated into the *acquis*.²⁹

We also observe that conventional approaches re-emerge after some time in a ‘reinvented’ form, with only slightly modified premises. At the same time, other seminal works within the *acquis académique* are not really replaced by new and perhaps more conclusive approaches in a process of theoretical Darwinism, but continue to direct

²⁶ See numerous efforts of the EU to establish centres of excellence all over the world, http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/llp/jean_monnet/jean_monnet_en.php (last visit 10/12/09).

²⁷ see Keohane/Hoffmann 1991: 8.

²⁸ see Schneider/Hrbek 1980.

our efforts in ever different shapes and new interpretations. Classic founding theories – such as (neo-)realist, (neo-)federalist and (neo-)functionalist approaches – are repeatedly revived in several forms of renaissance. Revisiting them often offers a considerable gain in insight even for changed constellations and after major developments in the European Union system.³⁰ The attempt to establish ‘neo-neo-functionalism’³¹ and new looks at federalist thinking³² are a testimony for these efforts to exploit traditional theories stemming from an earlier generation of political scientists and political discourse.

The debate about system-making is especially subject to historical revivals. Thus, the trends within the state of the art can be defined less by a radical change of paradigms³³ than by a considerable evolution with increasing differentiation and forms of pluralistic coexistence.³⁴

In view of such a branching of the ‘*acquis académique*’, some research networks have repeatedly attempted to place publications of single authors on a pedestal or present them as key works. Such a move may indeed be necessary or stimulating, but it bears a considerable risk of artificially cultivating existing controversies between schools: points of difference between theoretical and methodical approaches can be stylised beyond their inherently given boundaries and the potential for securing mutual benefits of insight may be wasted unnecessarily due to academic competition. Thus a didactic review of scientific turns could reveal the valuable traditions and helpful lines of these developments; a chronological ordering of academic phases must not, however, lead to the unproductive narrowing of perspective confined to ‘footnote cartels’.

In the real life of academic discourses, even the more useful attempts at demarcating periods of theoretical approaches, usually possess a short life-span, as newer approaches are constructed and come to be established, thus shifting previously existing, seemingly fixed coordinates of scientific mental maps. In the same direction goes the warning not to overrate statistical evaluations: results of the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI)³⁵ can help us to identify key persons and projects which have high respect in our field; at the same time they might also be perceived as the by-

²⁹ See e.g. works by Hallstein 1969; Dahrendorf 1973; Schneider 1977.

³⁰ See e.g. the relevant chapters in Wiener/Diez 2009; Chrysoschoou 2001; Rosamond 2000.

³¹ See Schmitter 2004.

³² See e.g. Burgess 2004.

³³ See generally Kuhn 1988.

³⁴ See also Egan/Nugent/Paterson 2010.

³⁵ See e.g. the study of Hix 2004.

products of battles between persons in leading positions of academic dominance with limited relevance for finding valid explanations.

Thus, notwithstanding all thoughtfulness and despite all self-stylizing of some authors and schools, no theoretical direction today can be asserted as the ‘dominant school’ for the debate on the European Union polity, which were to definitively provide the essential points of reference within a dominant paradigm. Rather, the multitude and abundance of work on system-making in the political sciences alone, without even considering the other disciplines, can only be compiled in a multi-polar overview.

c. The return of the term “constitution” and... its sudden death

In the academic and political debate the constitutional issue of system-making is in many variations an everlasting topic. As early as in the fifties we observe the confrontation between Spinelli and Monnet on the appropriate strategy for the European construction. Spinelli’s demand for a “saut qualitative” into a federation lost against the incremental steps proposed by Monnet, though this “arch saint of the European integration”³⁶ was promoting a “comité d’action pour les Etats-Unis de L’Europe”. We could also discover implicitly a similar controversy in the writings of Haas and the now forgotten European Hallstein.

It belonged to the peculiarities of this debate that the term “constitution” remained taboo for a long time. For many in the area of political science the term was perceived – like federalism – as a subject which was academically not correct. In view of deep and apparently unbridgeable gaps between federalist and intergovernmentalist visions, a prudent strategy recommended to leave this term out of the strategy debate. The term disappeared from the political agenda: even Spinelli and later Kohl, both seen as ardent supporters of European integration, were reluctant to propagate such a revolutionary strategy. In this decade, however, we saw a “constitutional turn”³⁷, but also a “governance turn”³⁸. Both discussions quite often constituted parallel activities which seldom met. In a nutshell you might argue that the academic works on the methods of the Lisbon ‘strategy’ were not really linked to the debates about the Lisbon ‘treaty’.

³⁶ See Milward 2000: 281-303.

³⁷ Wiener/Diez 2004: 10.

For the political debate one turn was the Humboldt speech by the then German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer in the year 2000: In view of the deliberations leading to the Nice treaty he analysed “a crisis of the Monnet method that cannot be solved according to the method’s own logic” and demanded “the transition from a union of states to full parliamentarisation as a European Federation, something Robert Schuman demanded 50 years ago. And that means nothing less than a European Parliament and a European government which really do exercise legislative and executive power within the Federation. This Federation will have to be based on a constituent treaty.”³⁹

Giscard d’Estaing, as president of the European Convention for the future of Europe, took this concept up in his opening speech: “In order to avoid any disagreement on semantics let us call it “constitutional treaty for Europe”⁴⁰.

In good practice lawyers and political scientists – not least from the Jean Monnet network – took up long and diversified traditions on this term. They elaborated and offered definitions of a constitution. Key issues of deep controversies were:

- Which formal requirements are needed: does the acceptance of a constitution need more than another treaty change along art. 48 TEU; e.g. does a constitution demand a European Union wide referendum?
- Which substance and content does a European constitution imply or need: should it include fundamental rights as well as a vertical allocation of competences and a horizontal division of powers?
- Which pre-constitutional preconditions are necessary in term of identity: does a Constitution need to be based on one European people?

In reaction to launching a strategy for the European construction with this provocative term as a key component we could identify two schools of thought about its effects and impact: one perceived this term as a mobilizing factor for a new a post-national form of democracy and rule of law beyond the nation state and thus as the necessary bold strategy to create a unique political system. The opposite view also recognized mobilizing dynamics, but this time for the return of the conventional ‘Westphalian’ state with its grown national, constitutional and welfare dimension: Being under symbolic

³⁸ Kohler-Koch/Larat 2009: xxiii.

³⁹ Fischer 2000.

pressure the nation state apparently “strikes back”. If we look at the French and Dutch referenda on the ‘constitutional’ treaty as well as at the rulings of constitutional courts, such as the German “Bundesverfassungsgericht”, on the Lisbon treaty⁴¹, there seems to be an empirical verification for the second school: these events and interpretations apparently document a “victory” for the conventional and traditional nation state.

For enabling the ‘reform’ treaty of Lisbon member states purged the constitutional treaty of all state and constitution like symbols, titles and labels – leading at least momentarily to a ‘defeat’ for the use of the label ‘constitution’ for the future of European Union system-making. With this sudden death the political debate seems to move back to former decades, but cosmetic changes in treaty formulations cannot conceal fundamental issues linked to the democratic and efficient functioning of the European Union institutions which the academic debate has to tackle.

2. On our future research agenda

a. The puzzle

As one starting point for analyzing and assessing system-making and policy-making we should start with a basic question. With the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty and after the intensive debate of the first decade of the third millennium, we are still – and now even more – faced with a major puzzle: how can we understand the surprising development from a narrowly defined community with a single issue – coal and steel – to a Union equipped by the Lisbon treaty with a state-like agenda, and how can we understand the territorial expansion from a small group of six countries to nearly pan-European membership of 27? And behind these queries the even more astonishing issue: How and why have sovereign nation-states increasingly shifted competences to the European level and why have they limited parts of their sovereignty by allowing independent institutions to take or execute binding decisions? Looking at these trends over more than half a century we want to offer an approach which might help us to:

- ☐ explore the ‘milestones’ in the evolution of such a dynamic system,
- ☐ explain what we can observe over the last decades,
- ☐ evaluate these developments with criteria that are normally used in normative approaches – thus we will look at debates about efficiency, effectiveness and legitimacy of the system,

⁴⁰ Giscard D'estaing 2002.

⁴¹ Federal Constitutional Court of Germany 2009.

- extrapolate findings into the future by
 - taking up lessons of the past for analytically valid scenarios and trajectories for the future of how the next phase of integration might look like,
 - using political programmes and strategies for identifying aspirations and anxieties concerning how the European Union should or should not look like.

b. Three time perspectives

In order to pursue this list of questions for the Jean Monnet network we might use a research design which identifies three time horizons – taking up parts of the legacy of Braudel.⁴²

In a ‘*courte durée*’ perspective we look at developments that have occurred over a short period of time, identified by the Preamble of the Treaty of Lisbon as spanning from the Maastricht treaty via the Amsterdam and Nice treaty to the present Lisbon treaty. This *courte durée* (Braudel’s *instant*), sees efforts by the heads of state and government to complete the series of treaty revisions aimed at eliminating various new challenges and demands partly as left-overs that had persisted since the Treaty of Maastricht. At the same time, this period has seen an extension in both scope and membership of the European Union with considerable impact on the European political system.

Regarded in this short term perspective, the Treaty of Lisbon presents the preliminary culmination of recent efforts towards enhancing the Union’s efficiency and democratic legitimacy. Political actors involved in the production of the Lisbon treaty do not tire to underline that these objectives have now been achieved. Thus they proclaim to have no more treaty revision in the “foreseeable future”.⁴³

As the new treaty introduces a number of changes and even innovations to the institutional architecture of the Union there will be a multitude of objects for academic research and teaching. One major focus will be the analysis of how the written, legal text will impact on the living, real world. Beyond such necessary work also a deeper

⁴² Braudel 1980.

⁴³ European Council 2007.

assessment is needed. A series of institutional changes may well lead to increased efficiency as well as more democratic participation and control within institutions and procedures. It is however uncertain, if these effects will prove mutually reinforcing or if, on the contrary, they will turn out to be counterproductive in combination.

The Treaty of Lisbon sets itself the target of enhancing the democratic legitimacy of the European Union institutions that was perceived as deficient. This question was addressed by stressing the principle of 'dual or two pillar legitimacy' for the European Union as both a "Union of states" and a "Union of citizens" (see e.g. art. 16 TEU). The increased participation of the European Parliament in decision-making procedures and the introduction of a 'citizen's initiative' serves to stress the democratic quality of policy-making at the European level. At the same time, the Treaty of Lisbon enhances the opportunities for national parliaments to intervene in these European Union policy-making procedures. As national parliaments have frequently been considered to be losers of the European construction, their reinforced entry into the architecture is supposed to increase legitimacy of European Union decisions at the national level. If national parliaments (or individual chambers) proceed to make active use of these provisions, enhanced legitimacy may come however at the cost of increased informal negotiations and possible blockages by the Court on the European Union level.

In order to improve efficiency, the treaty introduces a number of new positions and offices providing the Union with faces and voices. The result of this is a novel 'leadership quartet', consisting of the newly installed permanent President of the European Council, the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (who will also be Commission Vice-President responsible for coordination of external actions as well as chairman of the Foreign Affairs Council), the strengthened Commission President and the rotating Council Presidency. A recalibrated balance will only emerge after some time with uncertain results that may upset the purposed aim of increased coherence of Union action across policy areas.

One major cornerstone of the claim for increased efficiency is the introduction of new rules for Qualitative Majority Voting (QMV). The present system was deemed unfit for an enlarged Union, a lower threshold was seen as an essential step to preserve the

efficiency of decision making at the European level. Whether the new system really decreases the likelihood of decisional blockage needs to be observed.

Some more innovations introduced by the treaty are likely to have an impact on the nature of the European political system. The formal grant of legal personality for the Union, the codification of the catalogue of Union competences and the indirect introduction of the Charter of Fundamental Rights underline the changing, quasi-constitutional nature of European Union system. All these accentuate the state-like character of Union system.

While these changes reflect partly already existing practices, they highlight the degree of political transformation that has taken place in Europe over the last decades. This observation leads to a second time horizon.

In a 'moyenne durée' perspective we should grasp the construction of the European Union over the past 60 years. We might especially look for regular patterns for system-making. A central task would be to test major elements of the 'acquis académique' in view of their respective validity to explain the fundamental puzzle as sketched above. Such a research strategy includes revisiting several proposals by historians for a periodisation of stages in and trends of the European Union's emergence and evolution of the institutional (and constitutional) architecture. From this perspective, we should intensify the debate about

- the 'end of the history' for European Union system-making as proclaimed by the European Council when signing the Lisbon treaty (see above),
- constitutional 'thresholds' in the evolution,
- a 'collapse (of the European Union system) by overstretch' due to impacts of enlargement and building a too large club.

In this time perspective we need to take exogenous dynamics – such as changes in the international system – into account as a major factor for explaining the emergence and evolution of the European Union system.

Shifting the focus of observation from ongoing policy-making on such longer term developments opens the perspective to an even more far reaching research dimension, namely to locate the construction of the European Union system in a 'longue durée' perspective. In order to analyse the making of the European Union system it would be short-sighted not to take into account large scale developments

that take place over longer time-spans than those captured by most studies of European integration.

At the root of this debate one major point of departure are structural and functional developments of the 'state' itself. With that view we might look at the Lisbon treaty with four different interpretations of the relationship between the European Union and the long term changes and trends of European nation states:⁴⁴

- *Irrelevance of the European Union system:* According to this interpretation, the impact of European integration on the integrity of the European nation state remains largely negligible. A member state does not need the European Union more than other functional international organisations and temporary alliances for solving its major problems. The European Union system can thus be perceived as a temporary phenomenon – bound to particular subject areas, discardable once its purpose has been fulfilled and ultimately irrelevant when regarded in a long-term perspective of the evolution of modern “Westphalian” states. The Lisbon treaty is therefore of limited importance; the question as to its impact on national statehood is false and leads to ill fated answers. The European state with all its characteristics is sufficiently well and alive. The Lisbon treaty might then signal indeed the end of a period – that of unrealistic dreams and visions.
- *Towards a European Union state substituting the nation state:* Another interpretation sees the evolution of the European Union system as a major step in the evolution of an European Union statehood. The emergence and evolution of the European Union system is inherently geared toward some kind of federal state. The Lisbon treaty is thus a further building stone to a novel edifice in which the grown nation states are increasingly substituted by a new constitution-like set-up. Following such a trajectory the evolution of European Union system can be assessed in two opposite directions: The Lisbon treaty can be regarded as a further step towards the necessary substitution of the discredited nation state, or as a major and increasing threat to the solely legitimate features of national sovereignty and identity.
- *The EU system as the Rescue of the nation state:* The European Union system might however also be perceived as the “rescue”⁴⁵ of the nation state. Rather than establishing an independent supranational sphere, it will strengthen the national

⁴⁴ Cf. Hofmann/Wessels 2009.

⁴⁵ Milward 2000.

level. The Lisbon treaty will be a next step for extending the power of member states by increasing their capacity to deal with additional challenges more productively. Integration is then a tool for problem-solving. The process does however not move beyond a certain red line or threshold of national sovereignty, the transformative impact of the European Union system is limited. National legitimacy is at least *de facto* reinforced by an increased capacity for output performance.

- *Transformation towards fusion:* The European Union system might also be seen as a next stage in the evolution of the nation state: building on century long developments the European Union will add major new elements and thus change major features of the Westphalian system. Problem-solving is of major importance and the necessity to face novel challenges forces states to seek more supranational solutions. The Lisbon Treaty signals another step in sharing national and European competences and legitimacy resources in a political and institutional process of fusion. National actors are thus better equipped to face challenges for their national societies, but at the cost of fundamentally changing the nature of the nation state at least in its conventional understandings.

The inherent ambiguity of the evolution of the European Union system and its impact on national sovereignty is highlighted by the fact that all four interpretations coexist in the Lisbon treaty text and in the intensive discussion on its meaning. We do not find any final falsification of any of these proposals.

c. The fusion thesis as one offer

In taking up the last set of interpretations my assumption postulates that the Lisbon treaty – like former treaty revisions and amendments – documents a specific reaction of modern European states to general challenges. For developing a respective research design I suggest to analyse the work and activities of the European Council as the key institution for system-making. My general assumption is: The heads of state or government of the modern nation state are confronted with a fundamental dilemma – irrespective of the specific time and place. In constellations of mounting transnational interdependencies – be they caused by long term structural developments such as globalisation or short term external shocks (or a combination of both) – member state governments can no longer perceive the (nation) state to be the

optimal – or at least the more effective – problem-solving area for immanent policy challenges. In order to cure this “performance disease” they follow a fundamental propensity that I call the “problem-solving instinct”: the European Council as an arena for common problem-solving offers them the opportunity to regain the capability to tackle expectations of their constituencies they can no longer meet on their own by national competencies and resources. Pursuing effectiveness and efficiency in reaching problem-solving decisions, they increasingly perceive the need to share competences and decision-making powers with institutions the European Union treaty characterises as “independent”. At the same time they face strong incentives to use their “club” for safeguarding national sovereignty; or at least for saving a strong voice in the institutional architecture; I call this the “sovereignty reflex”.

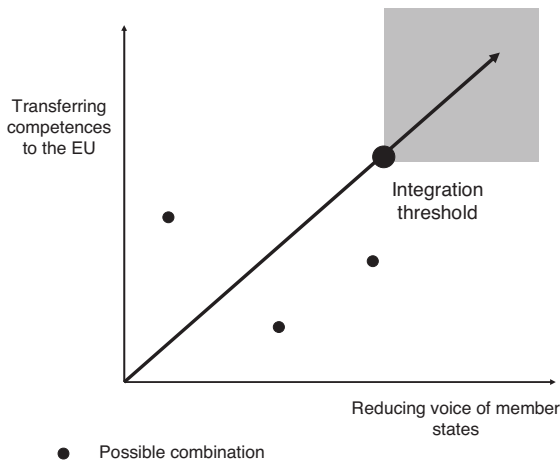
Both propensities are linked with respective notions of legitimacy: Whereas the problem-solving instinct favours the concept of “output-legitimacy”, by which a political system is judged as legitimate if it effectively delivers the expected results, the sovereignty reflex is based on an understanding of legitimacy that stresses short chains of delegation and direct accountability of elected decision-makers from the people in national democracies (part of the “input” legitimacy).

From this general assumption about the dilemma constellation of member states I develop a thesis which I call “fusion”. This approach postulates that the process of integration is driven by a basic trade-off between the propensity for increased joint decision-making (the problem-solving instinct) and keeping national autonomy and influence (the sovereignty reflex). Taking up the traditional vocabulary of integration studies, the European Council is thus subject to both “supranational” *and* “intergovernmental” logics.

Building on definitions from the ‘*acquis académique*’, this approach differentiates between two different dimensions of supranational integration (see Graph 1). The first dimension of supra-nationality (vertical dimension) is expressed as a transfer of national competences towards the European Union level. A second (horizontal) dimension concerns the reduction of national voice in the decision-making process within the European Union institutional architecture. This is captured mainly but not only by the loss of national veto (through the use of majority voting in the Council) on the one hand, and by the increasing participation of nominally autonomous European

Union institutions, including veto-like powers by the European Commission and the European Parliament.

Graph 1: European Council's choices in the dilemma constellation



In the long term trend, however, I expect the European Council to take incremental decisions moving the allocation of competences and voice towards and eventually across what I call the “integration threshold”. This point in the matrix is characterised by a real shift of competences to the European Union level, to the what the Lisbon treaty calls ‘shared’ and ‘exclusive’ competences and a significantly reduced voice for the member state which is exemplified by ‘the ordinary legislative procedure’ in the Lisbon vocabulary; i.e. monopoly of initiative for the Commission, co-decision with the EP, majority voting in the Council and the shadow of rulings by the Court of Justice.

My counter-intuitive expectation is that the European Council functions as a multiplier and active user of spill-over pressure. Taking full account of the role and relevance of what the literature generally calls supranational norm entrepreneurs (such as the Commission, the European Parliament and to some extent the European Court of Justice), the European Council – though intergovernmental in its composition and alleged nature – centrally shapes the evolution of the European Union system towards an increasing shift of competences and reduced national voice. This thesis stands in conflict with major lines of the public and academic debate about this body. Though

there is apparently some common ground in the ‘acquis académique’ on the way the European Council functions, the state of the art reveals more controversies regarding the assessment of the impact of this institution on the European Union system and its institutional architecture. While the European Council is generally held to constitute a “system of collective leadership”⁴⁶ of “principals”⁴⁷ few analyses venture towards a more general and theoretical explanation putting the European Council into a broader context in the emergence and evolution of the European Union system and – linked to that development – relating this body to the evolution of the state in the last decades.

3. Conclusion: a perpetual (Lisbon) status quo?

With the entry into force of the Lisbon treaty we might witness some kind of historical milestone and watershed not only in the patterns of policy-making within the revised institutional architecture but also in view of academic works on this strange system *sui generis*. In many ways the Lisbon treaty will force us to intensify our research and reflection on system-making. The issue of “enhancing efficiency and democratic institutions” needs to be treated with empirical evidence, which we will observe in the next phase of the European Union history. Even more, we should pursue deeper analyses concerning longer term developments of the European Union system in context of the changes of European states.

Sober analyses of the past invite us to reflect about the Lisbon stage of the European Union’s evolution and to speculate about possible developments of this system ahead. For the short term perspective we might add to a revised research question: does the present Lisbon constellation of the European Union document a stable equilibrium – a ‘constitutional settlement’⁴⁸ – for the years to come? Would any proposal for further steps of deepening then remain an illusion?

In view of such an issue one line of argument stresses that leaders of European Union system-making have no energy left to engage themselves again in this frustrating game of concluding and then ratifying complex texts which are difficult to sell to a sceptical or uninterested public. Their dictum in the Lisbon summit that the Lisbon treaty is the final treaty revision ‘for the foreseeable future’ indicates this fatigue. Major political actors apparently identify borders set both external and internally.

⁴⁶ Ludlow 2005: 3.

⁴⁷ For more on the principal-agent approach see Pollack 2003; Tallberg 2000.

Governments of Member States thus might have given the European construction a form and function which is definite for years to come. The European Union might thus have reached a lasting internal equilibrium with a working institutional balance and a saturated geographical extension – perhaps similar to the ‘golden threshold’ of Augustus, which fixed the nature and realm of the Roman Empire for centuries.

Another line of argumentation does not look primarily at the preferences and moods of actors but at what they expect to be the inbuilt dynamics and logics as they assume that agency is a dependent variable of structure. This school of thought identifies inbuilt factors pushing for more integration and perhaps enlargement until an ‘integration overstretch’ is reached. Exploiting works on ‘imperial overstretch’⁴⁹ or on the ‘tragedy of empires’⁵⁰ this thesis claims that the Union is forced to extend its natural borders to a still to be defined threshold if security and economic interests are taken into proper account. As a major indicator for further pressures, adherents of this view may point at the repeatedly voiced interest to enlarge to at least 35 members (Balkan countries and Turkey).

Perhaps even more important and more general is the view arguing for ‘unfinished business’: this thesis claims that in spite of much frustration by the actors there is not yet any efficient and effective balance between the problem-solving instinct of member governments, which ask for more and better solutions on the European Union level, and the sovereignty reflex, which pushes them to keep legal competences and political voice in national hands. Given the demand and need for European Union policies, especially unexpected crises will put even the Lisbon treaty under ongoing stress for amendments and revisions. In whatever form – be it by changes of the legal or of the living architecture – the status quo is then not stable.

In view of the financial and economic crises – reflecting un-intended consequences of the intended globalisation of European economies – there is no standstill, especially as external shocks highlight dialectics of the fundamental dilemma. With the Lisbon treaty as some kind of fixed point of reference, the policy-led research focus might again shift away from the quasi-constitutional system-making issues of treaty revisions to issues of policy-making within the now altered institutional architecture. Our

⁴⁸ Moravcsik 2008.

⁴⁹ See Kennedy 1987.

analyses and assessments of those activities in the real world of the new European Union treaty will however affect the issues raised by the debate on system-making not at least in view of the future of the nation state.

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⁵⁰ See Mearsheimer 2001.

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CONSTITUTIONAL EVOLUTION

THE DISCUSSION ABOUT THE FUTURE OF EUROPE FROM THE CZECH PERSPECTIVE

During the last twenty years the geographical, political and conceptual map of Europe has significantly changed. Several processes occurred simultaneously: transformation and accession, deepening and widening. When ten countries from Central and Eastern Europe plus Cyprus and Malta joined the European Union in 2004, Romania and Bulgaria in 2007 the number of European Union member states reached 27. The momentous project which fulfilled the dreams of several generations of Europeans to form a peaceful prosperous continent helped to overcome and heal the wounds after World War II and the Cold War. The never ending discussion about the shape of a common European house got new impulses. During the Big Bang the European Union was facing new challenges connected with the demands of the new millennium, but it was also seeking new paradigms for itself. It was asking questions about its future and it is still in search for new visions, among others on the fundamental question whether the future architecture of Europe should give more power to the European Union institutions or the member states and how to provide a decent life for its citizens and contribute to peace and stability in the world.

In addition, calls for bringing the European Union closer to the citizens, to make it more 'user friendly', and to give it new tasks, including that of becoming the most efficient economy, have led to a public debate (*Le Grand Debat*) about the European Union's objectives, launched at the turn of the millennium.

The new stage of the constitutionalization process in the European Union on the eve of enlargement called for the launching of the Convention at the summit in Laeken in 2001. The task for the Convention was "to draw up a final document which may comprise either a different option, indicating the degree of support which they received, or recommendations if consensus is achieved....the Intergovernmental Conference will take the ultimate decision."⁵¹ The Declaration emphasized the necessity of improving and controlling the democratic legitimacy and transparency of the European Union and its institutions, which would bring them closer to the people in the member states.⁵² The debate on the future of Europe, which had already been launched in 2000, had to have its forum. National debates were to be included. European citizens were supposed to get closer to the European design and institutions, the reform had to organize politics and the European political area in an enlarged Europe and the European Union was supposed to become a stabilizing factor on the world stage.⁵³

After 2000 the Czech Republic and other candidate countries were involved in the whole discussion (*Le Grand Debat*) about the future of Europe together with the member states. The debate was foreshadowed by German Minister of Foreign Affairs Joschka Fischer in his famous speech at Humboldt University in 2000⁵⁴. The cacophony of voices was heard also from the Czech national debate. European political scene noted two speeches given by the Czech President Václav Havel first in French Senate in 1999 and then in the Strasbourg building of the European Parliament in 2000. Europeanness is for him connected with the set of values, ideals and principles.⁵⁵ The main part of his contribution Havel devoted to European values based on the respect of the individual and his freedom, rights and destiny. Havel proposed the establishment of the constitution summarizing the basic principles and values of the European Union; the second part was supposed to describe the

⁵¹ European Council: Declaration on the Future of the Union, pp. 169-175, available at: www.evropska-unie.cz (last accessed: 1 May 2008).

⁵² Cf. European Council: Declaration on the Future of the Union, pp.170-175, available at: www.evropska-unie.cz, (last accessed: 1 May 2008).

⁵³ Cf. Norman Peter: The Accidental Constitution. The Story of European Convention, EuroComment, Brussels 2003, p.21.

⁵⁴ "From Confederacy to federation - Thoughts on the finality of European integration" Speech by Joschka Fischer at the Humboldt University in Berlin, 12 May 2000, http://www.auswaert.../index_html?bereich_id=17

⁵⁵ Projev presidenta republiky Václava Havla před poslanci Evropského parlamentu, Štrasburk, 16.února 2000,s.1

<http://www.euroskop.cz/euroskop/site/oko/analyzy/havel.html>

institutions and their competencies.⁵⁶ The creation of a second Chamber of the European Parliament inspired by the American Senate and composed by the representatives of national parliaments received lesser backing.

The different tone sounded from the "Manifesto of Czech Eurorealism" authors of which were led by Jan Zahradil, the Shadow Minister of Foreign Affairs from the opposition Civic Democratic Party. The Manifesto rejected strengthening of the role of the European institutions as well as adopting the constitution. It endorsed a flexible and multi speed "*Europe á la carte*".⁵⁷ The authors proposed the scenarios of Switzerland, Norway or a special relationship with the United States of America and joining North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) even though the trade exchange between the Czech Republic and the United States represented only 4%. The broad diapason of opinions vis-à-vis the European Union was heard on European as well as Czech political scene and covered many approaches from federalist ones to Eurosceptic.

Czechs and the Cleavages in the Convention

The cleavages which occurred in the Convention were based on the affiliation to political families, representatives of the governments, parliaments and the European Union institutions, divisions between federalists and intergovernmentalists, small and big states etc. The one division that was missing was the cleavage between old and new member states. For the rest, the representatives from the candidate countries took part at the meetings of their political families, they gathered according to the institutional background [governments and parliaments] or their approach to the reform of institutions etc.

During February and March 2003 the group of the so called "*like minded countries*", or "*friends of communitarian method*", was established, uniting mainly small countries of the European Union. The most active role was played by Portugal, Ireland, Austria and Finland. They were joined by Sweden and Denmark, which were expressing some comments to the proposal of small states accepting the role of the permanent

⁵⁶ Projev presidenta republiky Václava Havla před poslanci Evropského parlamentu, Štrasburk, 16. února 2000, s.2

⁵⁷ The Manifesto of Czech Eurorealism, Manifest českého eurorealismu (zkrácená verze), Jan Zahradil, Petr Plečič, Petr Adrián, Miloslav Bednář, Praha 2001, s.4

President of the European Council. Benelux played sort of a double role, at the beginning joining the group, then during the last sessions of the Convention cooperating more with the French-German axis and coming back towards the end. This applied mainly to the Netherlands and Luxembourg. The group was joined by nearly all new member states: the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Hungary, Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia. Active roles were played by Malta and Cyprus too.⁵⁸

The main topic for the group was the preservation of an as equal position as possible between the member states and stressing of the communitarian principle. One of the main tasks was the conservation of the principle of equal rotation of the head of European Council and the principle “one country = one Commissioner” in the European Commission.⁵⁹ During the works of the Convention the groupings were changing and at the end even Great Britain supported the idea of “one country = one Commissioner”. Poland, which on one hand did not join the group of like minded countries, on the other hand expressed many similar views. Poland even took part at the meeting of the group in Prague in September 2003. It was not difficult for the Czech delegation to join the group, because the Czech governmental draft “Non paper”, which was published on the Convention web page in January 2003, was nearly identical to the proposal of the “*like minded group*.”⁶⁰

Czechs in the Convention

The division in the Czech political scene as well as in the Czech society found its expression also in the participation at the Convention. The representation at the Convention was organized according to political affiliation. The representative of the Czech Government, Mr. Jan Kavan, was a former Minister of Foreign Affairs and he belonged to Social Democratic party. In summer 2002, after the election, he was replaced by his Alternate Mr. Jan Kohout, State Secretary and First Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs responsible for European matters, from the same political party. The Lower House of the Parliament sent to the Convention Mr. Jan Zahradil, member of ODS-Civic Democratic Party and Shadow Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Senate was

⁵⁸ The meeting of the group of like minded countries was held during the last days of the Convention in July 2003. All above mentioned countries took part and expressed their willingness to coordinate their attitudes during the upcoming IGC. They also accepted the invitation for the meeting of the group organized in Prague at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on September 1, 2003.

⁵⁹ http://european-convention.eu.int/doc_wg.asp?lang=EN

⁶⁰ http://european-convention.eu.int/doc_wg.asp?lang=EN

represented by Mr. Josef Zieleniec, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs; he is affiliated to United States, Union of Freedom party.⁶¹

The Government representative of the Czech Republic Jan Kohout followed his political family PES-Party of European Socialists and was especially involved in the group of the "*like minded states*" or "*friends of communitarian method*" as they called themselves.⁶² These countries were in favour of preserving the rotation system in the European Council, because they were afraid of a strengthened role of the bigger states. They also supported the principle "one state, one Commissioner". It was not difficult for Mr.Kohout to follow this group; the main thoughts of their common statement were already expressed in Czech "*Non-paper*" published at the end of 2002.⁶³

The Czech Government and their representative Mr.Kohout supported a "*mixed model*" based on the balance between intergovernmental and supranational, federal models. This method can lead to the "derived federation" model which exists, for instance, in Canada. Thus an "ever closer Union" would respect nation states and their positions as to key question, and strengthen cooperation in all fields as well⁶⁴

Mr.Zieleniec, the representative of the Czech Senate was based in the political family of EPP- European Peoples' Party. He supported the transfer of competencies on the federal level. His model of federal state seemed to be a decentralized asymmetrical unitary state. Mr.Zieleniec hoped for the further politicization of the decision making process of the European Union on the basis of political affiliation. The President of the European Union would be elected by the European parliament and the choice would be based on his belonging to a political family. Zieleniec's slogan was: "If we give Europeans European politics, they will give Europe their hearts and trust"⁶⁵.

⁶¹ The Alternate for Mr.Kohout was Lenka Rovná, Professor of Charles University, no party. The Alternate for Mr.Zahradil was Mr.Nečas, MP from Civic Democratic Party. The Alternate for Mr.Zieleniec, the Senator Kroupa came from KDU/CSL.

⁶² Maximum 19 members supported this group. The most active were Portugal, Austria, Finland, Ireland, partly Benelux, Denmark, Sweden, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovenia, Baltic countries etc.

⁶³ Non paper on the reform of EU institutions, The European Convention, The Secretariat, CONV 485/03, 15 January 2003, Brussels

⁶⁴ The author as an Alternate member of the Convention was using internal materials of the government.

⁶⁵ Speech to the Convention by Senator Josef Zieleniec, 21.3.2002, zieleniecj@senat.cz

Mr. Jan Zahrádil affiliated himself with a group of European Democrats led by a eurosceptic member of European Parliament from Denmark, Mr. Jens-Peter Bonde. His model was close to pure confederation, in which every step forward requires the confirmation by national institutions. Mr. Zahrádil supported the economic integration of the European Union, but he rejected the political one. On June 12, the day before the final document of Part I of the Constitution was accepted, Mr. Zahrádil left the Convention. The day after he called in Prague a press conference in which he reproached Valéry Giscard d'Estaing for manipulating the procedure. This was the day when the referendum about the accession to the European Union was held. This was a very rare moment when the Czech public was thinking "European", and the proclamation did not fail to catch attention⁶⁶.

After losing a close ally Mr. Zahrádil who became Member of Parliament as well as Czech Civic Democratic Party cooperated intimately with British Conservatives and after the elections in 2009 formed a new group in the European Parliament. Mr. Zahrádil who was the leader of Civic Democratic Party to the European elections got a strong message by the voters who by preferential votes gave priority to more pro European leader of Northern Moravian region Tošenovský.

Ratification Process and Czech Reflections

There is a considerable amount of political competition over European matters in the Czech Republic. The Government, the President, political parties, as well as civic society express a multi-faceted variety of opinions. The Prague Castle (the seat of the Czech President) represents a strong Eurosceptic voice, echoed by a part of Civic Democratic Party and by the Communist party. The lack of consensus over European matters, among others, resulted in the non-adoption of the Euro. The Czech Republic did not even state a prospective date. The dispute was connected with a strong rejection of the President Václav Klaus who is responsible for the nomination of the members of the National Bank Council. As a result, the experts who are inclined to postpone the adoption are in the majority. The present debate is also influenced by the economic crisis and there is a fragile consensus among the economists and politicians that the decision has to be taken very cautiously. Some stated that the country missed an opportunity by not having joined together with Slovakia, others praised the fact that

⁶⁶ Zahrádil opustil Konvent, [Zahrádil left the Convention], Lidové noviny, June 13, 2003, p.1

having its own currency enables the country to respond to the economic crisis more flexibly. Only time will tell who was right.

Another topic whirled the public opinion on the eve of the elections: the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty. The coalition government of Mirek Topolánek negotiated the final shape of the treaty and the Prime Minister, together with Karel Schwarzenberg, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, added their signatures. The Czech Republic was the last member state to start the ratification process. The President and a group of Civic Democratic Party Senators appealed to the Constitutional Court, questioning Lisbon's compliance with the Czech Constitution. The Court ruled on November 26, 2008 after seven months of examinations, that the Treaty did not contradict the Constitution. (<http://www.euractiv.cz/budoucnost-eu/clanek/ustavni-soud-rozhodl-lisabonska-smlouva-je-v-souladu-s-ceskou-ustavou-005349> as of July 15, 2009)

Unfortunately, the decision did not concern the Treaty as a whole, but addressed only the specific questions asked. The Parliament approved the Treaty with a majority of 125 votes (there are 200 seats in the House), 61 against (mainly from Civic Democratic Party and the Communist party), 11 abstained and 3 were not present on February 2, 2009. The Senate, under the influence of a strong opposition of Euroskeptic Senators from Civic Democratic Party voted on May 6 and approved the Treaty with a majority of 54 votes with 20 Senators against, 5 abstentions and 2 absentees. The ratification by both Houses of Parliament was severely criticised by President Václav Klaus who encouraged the group of resentful Senators to appeal again to the Constitutional Court. Klaus refused to finalise the ratification (even though it is his constitutional duty) until the Constitutional Court gives its opinion and the Irish people decide in a second referendum.⁶⁷ Some critics suggested that the President should resign. Despite this political commotion, the debate about the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty did not attract any special attention of the broader public.

Jacques Rupnik, a Professor of Political Science from Science Po in Paris summarized” It is evident, that Václav Klaus fundamentally influenced the way how the debate about the European Union in the Czech Republic is led. Instead of discussing

⁶⁷ In personal conversation at French Embassy Václav Klaus told me: „I am sure that Lisbon Treaty will not be adopted. If I sign it I would have to commit hara-kiri. “ Prague July 14, 2009

about things which really define the European Union, the President launched an acute thesis and now it is up to the other side to disprove it.”⁶⁸

Using the results of the team from Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence at Charles University in Prague we can classify attitudes into three groups:

1. The **“traditional sovereignist” critique focused on the democratic deficit at the European Union level and the lack of democratic accountability of the European Union institutions** (in particular the European Commission and the European Parliament) **corresponds to Klaus' critique of activities of those structures in the Czech Republic** which do not fit to the standard political party models (Non-governmental Organisations' and citizens movements with the political aspirations in particular). From this (Klaus') perspective, the European Union lacks the legitimacy to intervene in the domestic affairs of the Czech Republic in the analogous way as the Non-governmental Organisations' and citizen's movements lack the authority to intervene in the domestic politics driven by standard political parties and constitutional structures.
2. The **“selective Eurorealist approach” supports the economic integration process and the integration in the majority of the other policy areas.** However, it tests or “filters” further development of the European Union regulatory framework by the impact on the interests of the Czech Republic as well as the changes in the European Union institutional framework by their impact on the negotiation potential of the Czech Republic in the European Union. Clear example of this “selective realist approach” was Czech reluctance to support the transfer of the agenda of the “judicial and police cooperation in criminal matters” from the third European Union pillar to the framework of the European Community (the first pillar) as proposed during the Finish Presidency in 2006. The rejection of the project of the European Union Constitutional Treaty is shared by the representatives of the “selective realist approach” with the supporters of the “traditional sovereignist”.

⁶⁸ Daniel Anýž, Jacques Rupnik: Řekněme si, co od Unie vlastně chceme, Jacques Rupnik, Let Us Say What We Want from the Union, Mladá fronta Dnes, 2.4.2005, p.E IV

3. The third concept present in the Czech political debate, is the “**supranational**” or “**community method driven**” leitbild. It supports the community method of governance in the European Union and is not opposing further transfers of competencies from the Czech Republic to the European Union. The representatives of the “supranational” leitbild dominated the government of the Czech Republic during the accession negotiation to the European Union and during the preparation of the European Union Constitutional Treaty. The Social Democratic Party (key party of former government), Christian Democratic Party (both in former and current governments) and Green Party (member of current governmental coalition) are the most visible representatives of the supranational leitbild in Czech political life.

Tibor Palankai

Jean Monnet Chair, Director of the European Study Center and former Rector at the Corvinus University of Budapest;
Vice-President of Board of Directors of the Hungarian Development Bank



THE WORLD ECONOMIC DOWNTURN AND THE ROLE OF THE EURO⁶⁹

The chapters by Professors Blanche Sousi and Ramon Tamames were initially presented as papers during the session on "The World Economic Downturn and the Role of the Euro" at the Jean Monnet Conference "20 Years of Support for European Integration Studies". They formed an excellent starting point for a broader discussion on the European Union and the international monetary situation.

During the session, it was stated there are encouraging signals that the financial crisis is close to end. Some trends indicate the possible beginning of a recovery. On the other hand, it is not yet clear whether the signs of the upturn are only temporary, and whether another fall back could follow. Even the best experts are uncertain about the shape of the cycle: are we experiencing a V shape curve, or may it take a W shape? It is also unclear how rapidly the financial sectors are followed by the recovery of real economy. The car industry, which is an important sector in many economies, suffered a serious set back, and getting out of crisis means assuming fundamental structural changes. Even if consumer demand is slowly reviving, the increase of production may

⁶⁹ This chapter contains the main conclusions drawn by Professor Palankai as chairman of the session on "The world economic downturn and the role of the Euro" during the Conference "20 Years of Support for European Integration Studies – From the Jean Monnet Action to the Jean Monnet Programme". These conclusions are based on the presentations of Professor Blanche Sousi and Professor Ramon Tamames and on the discussion that followed after the paper presentations.

follow with some delays. That particularly implies improvement of employment possibilities, which also has repercussions on consumer demand.

No one denies that the euro played a positive role in the face of the global financial crisis. The euro-zone countries, however, were equally affected and the euro meant no guarantee of avoiding the financial crisis. But it helped to mitigate the difficulties, and in some sense the euro-zone countries were in better position to face and cope with impacts of the crisis. The euro-zone countries enjoyed a greater exchange rate stability than the non-members, and particularly those countries, which formerly accumulated large foreign currency debts (for example Hungary), had to face a certain “exchange rate bubble”. The euro was not an absolute shelter, but it secured a certain protection. It must be stressed also that even the euro-zone countries showed substantial differences, partly in term of the extent and character of the crisis, and also in their responses. National policies still played an important role, and this was an important factor explaining differences and sometimes lack of coherence.

Professor Blanche Soussi spoke about certain legal aspects of the issue, while Professor Tamames' presentation focused on the possibility and desirability of a single world currency. One can agree that a multi-currency world economy entails lots of disproportions, contradictory interests and reactions, and it is a aggravating factor from the point of view of a crisis. But the single world currency could offer a solution for many problems. However, is it relevant to see it as a solution in the foreseeable future? The issue provoked lively discussions.

One main counterargument is that the present global economy is far from an “optimal currency area”, due to fundamental differences among the regions. Can we realistically speak about a flexible factor market both in terms of capital, and particularly in terms of labour? The world economy is characterised by fragmented labour markets, and by rather protecting them, their integration is far from becoming realistic. Under these circumstances wage flexibility and adjustment are out of question.

Due to large and even growing differences in economic structures and levels of developments, there is no chance of avoiding asymmetric shocks and achieving the necessary synchronisation of cycles. In these respects, even the European Union is

far from an optimal currency zone, although the division is not just between the old and the new members.

The related and assumed transfers necessary from the point of view of a working currency area are also entirely out of question, and even the minimum of economic policy coordination, particularly, which in budgetary policies would be unavoidable, can hardly be expected in global dimension. The view that the question just depends on the will and determination of policy makers, is highly disputed.

On the other hand, most agree that the single global currency on longer term can be an option, and worth for serious discussion. This discussion is not entirely in vain, even if we hardly can tell whether it might become a reality in 50 or 100 years from now. Any discussion, even on issues like this, can however result in relevant theoretical analyses and bring ideas about the solution of present problems.

Blanche Sousi

Jean Monnet Chair and the Director of the Institute of Law and Business Economics at the University of Lyon III; Former Member of the Panel of Economic and Monetary Experts of the European Parliament's Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs



UNE CHAIRE JEAN MONNET POUR ACCOMPAGNER LE PASSAGE À L'EURO

C'était exactement il y a dix ans, l'euro devenait une monnaie, notre monnaie. Événement politique considérable, opération juridique mûrement préparée, c'était aussi une évolution sociologique pour les Européens, voire une révolution affective. La monnaie n'est pas un bien comme un autre, elle touche au plus profond de nous. Les eurosceptiques l'avaient bien compris: souvenez-vous des craintes qu'ils faisaient monter en annonçant le pire, des inquiétudes qu'ils suscitaient en prédisant le chaos.

Face à ces discours négatifs et dangereux, il fallait réagir, répondre, expliquer, bref il fallait faire tomber ces peurs nourries par la seule méconnaissance du dossier. Le passage à l'euro devait être compris de tous: c'était la clef de son succès.

Dès 1996, Yves-Thibault de Silguy, le Commissaire alors chargé des affaires économiques et monétaires, vit la nécessité de donner aux citoyens toutes les explications qu'ils attendaient. Il constitua autour de lui un groupe d'experts qui seraient informés en permanence de la préparation du passage à l'euro et qui devaient aller l'expliquer partout en Europe: des ambassadeurs en quelque sorte. Choisie comme membre de ce Groupeuro, j'ai pensé que les étudiants en droit devaient être les premiers à recevoir une formation juridique hautement spécialisée sur les modalités du passage à l'euro.

C'est ainsi que durant l'année 1996, l'Université de Lyon a demandé à l'Action Jean Monnet la création d'un module «passage à l'euro»: nous l'avons eu sans difficulté.

Hommage doit être rendu aux responsables et en particulier à Jacqueline Lastenouse, pour avoir saisi l'importance d'accompagner ainsi l'avènement de l'euro qui allait marquer la construction européenne.

Ce cours fut un succès immense, je le dis sans fausse modestie: il était proposé en option, mais tous les étudiants à qui il était proposé, l'ont choisi; nous avons dû changer de salle de cours pour les accueillir en plus grand nombre.

Le cours étant placé sous le label de l'Action Jean Monnet et ayant un contenu original, je me suis autorisée à adopter une pédagogie très innovante. J'ai invité les étudiants à imaginer les méthodes pour relayer l'enseignement que je leur dispensai. Ils ont créé une association «Eurogénération», constitué des groupes pour faire des conférences dans différents milieux: écoles, entreprises, maisons de retraites et même dans une prison (oui!). Les résultats ont dépassé tout ce que nous avions prévu : une équipe de télévision alertée par notre expérience, est venue en reportage à l'Université, nous sommes allés également sur un plateau TV, nous avons eu des articles dans la presse. Bref, les étudiants s'étaient approprié le passage à l'euro et ils en étaient devenus à leur tour les ambassadeurs. Un article les concernant titrait d'ailleurs «Les ambassadeurs de l'euro». Je vous laisse imaginer leur fierté!

A la fin de l'année, je devais donner un sujet d'examen. Ce fut: «Qu'est ce que l'euro?»

Sachant que sans doute des copies seraient remarquables, j'avais demandé aux étudiants d'autoriser par avance, leur publication éventuelle. J'avais vu juste! Ils m'ont remis des copies aussi émouvantes qu'intelligentes: j'ai décidé d'en reproduire certaines ou des extraits de certaines, dans un petit livret intitulé «*L'euro vu de l'amphi*». J'ai demandé une préface au Commissaire Yves-Thibault de Silguy, qui me l'a donnée (qu'il en soit encore remercié). Nous avons diffusé largement ce petit livret! L'action Jean Monnet avait permis une expérience exceptionnelle.

Je souligne que parmi les copies, j'ai trouvé l'idée qu'un jour après l'euro, on pourrait créer une monnaie mondiale «le mondial». Mon collègue Ramon Tamamès qui est à mes côtés nous dira qu'il plaide aujourd'hui pour une «new global currency».

En 1999, l'Université de Lyon a souhaité la création *ad personam* d'une Chaire Jean Monnet «Droit bancaire et monétaire européen». Cette spécialité n'existait pas pour

l'obtention d'une Chaire: il convient, une fois encore, de rendre hommage à Jacqueline Lastenouse et à son équipe pour avoir accepté avec pragmatisme cette création originale.

Dès lors, tous mes enseignements à l'Université de Lyon ont été faits sous ce label et dans cette matière: mes cours ont été suivis par de très nombreux étudiants, le Droit bancaire européen est devenu une matière du programme officiel du Master droit des affaires et du Master Droit bancaire et marchés financiers. Certains étudiants ont souhaité se spécialiser davantage et poursuivre des travaux de thèse sous ma direction.

J'ajoute qu'aujourd'hui la Chaire Jean Monnet est le support idéal pour expliquer les aspects juridiques de la crise financière, les réponses qui lui sont données à travers les réformes proposées notamment par les institutions européennes.

Ainsi, depuis le premier Module obtenu en 1996 et jusqu'à ce jour, grâce à ce label de l'Action Jean Monnet, mon enseignement a pu accompagner les étapes décisives de la construction européenne. Passage à l'euro hier, réforme de la supervision financière aujourd'hui, sans oublier les conséquences du Traité de Lisbonne.

La Chaire Jean Monnet est un label prestigieux: je le constate régulièrement. Je suis fière de le faire figurer sur tous mes cours et publications. C'est sous ce label que je signe mes fonctions de direction à la Revue Euredia, Revue européenne de droit bancaire et financier.

Avant moi, ici, tous les collègues qui se sont exprimés ont montré comment le monde universitaire accompagne les différents aspects de la construction européenne. Nous constituons un réseau exceptionnel et je remercie madame Belén Bernaldo de Quiros du soutien qu'elle nous apporte. Je la remercie aussi chaleureusement d'avoir su nous réunir à Bruxelles pour ces deux jours particulièrement fructueux.

Ramon Tamames

Jean Monnet Chair at the
Autonomous University of
Madrid



THE ROLE AND COMMITMENT OF THE EUROPEAN UNION IN THE APPROACH TO A NEW GLOBAL CURRENCY

Introduction

Hereby, I introduce, for our 20th Jean Monnet Anniversary, the discussion of the possibility of a future global currency, a topic in which the European Union has a lot to say, as far as the Euro zone is at present the nearest example of what a World Monetary Union could be in a not so distant future.

I have organized this chapter in three parts, as follows.

1. An open letter to Senator Obama, that I sent him in February 11, 2008, outlining for the future president, a general scope of the question; regarding the need of a global currency for the new global economy. I include the first answer by the Obama Team.
2. After the previous letter, I have collected a few references to some events in the world monetary stage since February 2008 that, I believe, fully confirm my previous forecasts.
3. A proposal to the European Union on the need to assume its responsibilities in the World Monetary scenario, according to the great Euro experience with the

general idea to be developed on topics that are being dealt presently at the current G-20 conferences.

An open letter (feb.2008) to senator Obama on the future global currency

Ramón Tamames

Professor of Economic Structure

Jean Monnet Chair holder, European Union

International Member of the Club of Rome

Dear Senator Obama,

I do not know if I am actually writing to the future President of the United States, but I sincerely believe that you deserve the job, and I am sure that if you succeed in reaching the presidency, it will be highly beneficial for the citizens of the world.

It is because of those premises that I write to you, in the hope that you consider an idea which could represent a very valuable commitment in favour of international political and economic cooperation, as an alternative to confrontation and the use of force, to which you have been firmly opposed - first of all, on the occasion of the war in Iraq, from the beginning, when you plainly stated that this action was an irrational journey leading nowhere. And something similar happens now in the case of Iran, as far as –instead of using the recourse of a most dangerous preventive war– you support the possibility of engaging in dialogue with the authorities of that country, in order to avoid the dangers of further nuclear proliferation. Both attitudes imply that the United States could share its important decision-making capacity, combining it with other powers, and always keeping in mind the purpose of improving the condition of the poorest in this planet in which all of us are living at present.

My proposal is that you consider the idea of contributing to the creation of a global currency for all the countries that wish to adopt it, according to certain technical conditions. A goal that might seem utopian, as far as it seems a difficult challenge, yet not impossible to reach. Indeed, History has shown us that a new currency looking for broader markets is in fact wholly reasonable, and in that sense all important currencies of the past and present have been created through monetary unions.

This happened with the Dollar in the United States, when, in 1792, Alexander Hamilton proposed the *Coinage Act* which bears his name, in order to create a single currency for his new nation, based on the earlier Spanish Millard Dollar.

Furthermore, the origin of the German Mark (DM) is analogous, because if in principle it was created in 1948, its precedent was the Reich Mark of Chancellor Bismarck's, who in 1871 was able to consolidate the new German Empire by establishing a currency that subsequently would become the most powerful in Europe, until the emergence of the Euro in 1998.

Moreover, when the International Monetary Fund (IMF, created by the Bretton Woods Conference of 1944), came into existence, the gold-dollar exchange standard permitted the free convertibility among the main currencies. With fixed exchange rates until 1972, when the United States dropped out of the system, thus entering into the still present situation of floating exchange rates, with its complications of successive financial crises, some of them very serious.

The Euro also emerged in 1998 on the basis of a monetary union which today encompasses 19 member states in Europe, and that serves as a reference for 14 additional countries through the African Financial Community Franc (AFC). In other words, in one way or another, the Euro is already circulating *de iure* or *de facto*, in 33 countries, and it is most foreseeable that by 2012 there will be some 50 member states circulating it, the same number that make up your own Nation.

And going from precedents to the possible future, the proposed global currency – which could be called the *Cosmos*, as an expression of the beauty of the universe in classic Greek –, is in fact underway. First of all, because of monetary simplification, with more than 80% of the world economic transactions being carried out in Dollars or Euros; and secondly, resulting from the ever increasing process of globalization. Indeed everything is becoming globalized: transactions of goods and services, capital movements, transfers by migrants, property rights, communication and information technologies, and financial services. What is impeding us then from globalizing today's existing payment means, which after all are the vehicle to all transactions in the globalized economy?

More than a few will say, of course, that a project like this will never be possible, on the basis that the United States would not accept the *loss* of its almighty dollar, and therefore even its American Way of Life. However, if we look back to the recent past, this argument carries little weight, since apart from the greenback's present circumstances, together with the increasing cooperation between the Federal Reserve System and the European Central Bank, the truth is that contradicting the aforementioned argument, in 1998, in Europe, Germany agreed to support the single currency, and thus the Euro was created.

Definitively, the global currency could emerge from the understanding of a stable Dollar/Euro exchange rate, after discussion and agreement in a new international conference, analogous to that already quoted of Bretton Woods in 1944, but in a world whose population has increased threefold, and is much more complex, and more in need than ever of real integration.

A very important premise for all this is to perceive that a single global currency could be established gradually world wide, with great advantages; among them, avoiding new monetary crises and the serious and prolonged difficulties coming from them. In addition, the global currency could mean a great push in favour of market stability and in the fight against inflation; reducing, besides, the high costs of transactions that all countries with weak currencies suffer, which all together represent more than half of the world's population.

Last but not least, we must add that a global currency would be a decisive action in the target that the philosopher Immanuel Kant aimed for in his "Essay on Perpetual Peace" in 1795: when countries agree on economic policies, the ghosts of war of so many centuries will begin to fade. Along these lines, let me remind you about two co-citizens of outstanding moral qualities and proven intellectual generosity, who may soon be your predecessors: Woodrow Wilson, who in 1918 proposed a world organization "to end all wars", and President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who, in some way, achieved that purpose through the San Francisco Conference of 1945, when the United Nations Charter was enacted.

Very soon it can be your own turn in all this history, Senator Obama, if you take that great leap forward as the future President of the United States, in favour of a more integrated and peaceful world.

Yours sincerely,

Madrid, 19.II.2008

Ramón TAMAMES

From: "Obama for America Correspondence Team" <info@barackobama.com>

Sent: Monday, February 25, 2008 2:43 PM

Subject: Thank you for your message

Dear Ramon,

Thank you for contacting Obama for America. The volume of messages we're receiving has gone up since Barack's victory in Iowa. While we cannot respond individually to over a thousand messages per day, the level of interest and thoughtfulness of the comments reflected in these communications are very gratifying. Your thoughts on our campaign and America's future are greatly appreciated.

Individual citizens like you are the foundation of this campaign. Since his February 10 announcement speech in Springfield, Illinois, Barack has spoken consistently of working together to reclaim the meaning of citizenship, restore our sense of common purpose and rally the power of millions of voices to demand long overdue change. We hope you will explore our website, www.BarackObama.com, to view that speech in its entirety and learn more about Barack, his record and his plans.

If you're writing because you want change, we need you to help us fight for it. Please sign up here to volunteer: <http://my.barackobama.com/acvolunteer> and you can get started from home right now. We've built a set of easy-to-use web tools that empower you to get further involved right now. Click My.BarackObama.com, where you can find events near you, connect with neighbours who support Barack, create your own blog, and do much, much more.

And if you're not sure you want to get involved, and are writing to express a concern or disagreement, we appreciate that as well. The open discussion we want to facilitate cannot take place without hearing from people expressing a wide range of views.

Thank you again for writing.

Sincerely,

The Correspondence Team Obama for America

Here are some more useful links to help you get started:

Learn more about Barack's policy positions: <http://my.barackobama.com/acissues>

See Barack in person or attend a campaign event: view the Events section toward the bottom of the front page www.BarackObama.com.

Invite Senator Obama or Michelle to an event: <http://invite.barackobama.com>

Donate: <http://my.barackobama.com/acdonate>

Buy Obama Gear: <http://my.barackobama.com/acstore>

Some later events in the international monetary field (2008/2009)

After presenting my letter to Mr. Barack Obama as the first/part of my *exposé*, I believe it would be interesting to make an assessment of the latest trends in the monetary world stage.

The Yuan: from pegging to revaluation

First of all we shall refer to the Chinese currency: for eleven years (1994/2005), the Renminbi or Yuan, had an extremely low variation margin to the American Dollar (8,27 to 8,30), to which it was pegged⁷⁰. But on the 21st of July, 2005, a first phase of revaluation came, and the Yuan went up to 2.1%, up to 8.11 units per dollar, on a way

⁷⁰Pedro Calvo, "El imperio de las divisas espera la llegada de la dinastía Yuan"(The Currency Empire Awaits the Yuan Dynasty"), *T*, 8.VI.09.

to what is technically known as *dirty flotation*: revaluation of the Yuan was going to be permitted, but not freely – as with the currencies in most western countries -, but with limitations and under the direction of the Chinese Central Bank (The Peoples Bank of China, PBC).

Besides the already commented way out off the Yuan/Dollar pegging, the monetary standard of the Chinese currency would no longer be only the *greenback*. In the following times after the main revaluation the Yuan was pegged to a basket of currencies. Thus, from July 2005 to June 2009, the Chinese currency has been revaluated 15.8%, reaching 6.82 against the dollar, a rate of revaluation considered too slow by western countries.

Let us remark, by the way, that by June, 2009, China's international reserves reached 1.95 billion dollars, the largest in the world, followed only by Japan with 1.01 billion. These reserves have been invested in great part in United States *Treasuries*, so that China has 740,000 million dollars in United States Treasury bonds in its Central Bank; once again, above Japan which has 635,000 million.

We shall witness also that the bargaining position of the People's Republic will be stronger, in 2010, the year in which the International Monetary Fund (IMF) will readjust member States quotas, and will reconsider the basket of currencies making up the so-called *Special Drawing Rights* (SDR), i.e., the composition of this basket-semi-currency, created by the International Monetary Fund in 1969 as an alternative to national currencies, is updated every five years. That happened last time in 2005 –with the following composition of Special Drawing Rights: the Dollar, 44%; the Euro, 34%, and the Japanese Yen and the Pound Sterling, 11% each. In the foreseen occasion of 2010, China could demand the right to be in the basket with its Yuan. Just in case, the Governor of the Peoples Bank of China, Zhou Xiaochuan, has already defended that the *Special Drawing Rights* should have more weight in the world economy, so as not to depend so much on the fluctuation of the dollar.

Towards a global currency further Chinese measures, in line with its national currency have been implemented, with trading partners, in order to enlarge the use of the Yuan. In that sense Zhou backs the creation of a “super-sovereign reserve currency” managed by the International Monetary Fund that would challenge the dollar's

power⁷¹. Something rather logical, since much of China's national wealth, about 70% of its two trillion USD in foreign reserves, is kept in dollars.

To reduce its exposure to United States economic policy, Beijing is forging currency swaps with Asian and Latin American nations, contracts that provide their central banks with the Yuan to be used in trade with China or even as a Reserve currency in the future. More ambitiously, Zhou thinks the International Monetary Fund should create a new international currency —beyond the *Special Drawing Rights* —, that would be valued against a basket of existing currencies, such as the Dollar, Euro, and Yuan. In theory, that new reserve currency would be more stable than the United States Dollar because it would be “disconnected from economic conditions and sovereign interests of any single country”.

Yet Zhou has tapped into resentment about the huge—and unique—funding advantages America enjoys since the United States government and citizens can borrow and trade in its own currency, while other economies with dollar assets must worry about currency swings or United States policy shifts.

Some official position of the United States Authorities

Officially, the United States proposes maintaining a *strong dollar*, to put Chinese doubts about its investments in the North American debt at ease⁷².

Along these lines, Secretary of the Treasury, Timothy Geithner, said in June 2009 that “the global recession seems to be losing strength” and he pointed out that the American financial system is growing healthier. A short time afterwards, in a speech, he guaranteed the American Administration's desire to reduce public deficit, in spite of the latest initiatives approved to overcome the crisis. “Chinese funds are safe”, Geithner insisted at Beijing University, which caused laughter among the students in the audience, a clear sign of skepticism. And also some criticism against the Beijing policy: how absurd it is for a country like China, still greatly under-developed, to invest

⁷¹ Steve LeVine y Dexter Roberts, “China's doubts about the dollar”, *BusinessWeek*, 8.VI.09.

⁷² *Expansión*, “Geithner apuesta por un dólar fuerte en su visita a China”(Geithner opts for a strong dollar on his visit to China”), *Expansión*, 1.VI.09

in the public debt of a foreign country, instead of improving the standard of living for its own citizens.

Timothy Geithner's cited words were in contrast to the brave comments he made in January of 2009, after being named Secretary of the Treasury, during a conference in New York which caused an upset to the dollar. He said then, that he was open to the idea of the governor of the People's Bank of China, Zhou Xiaochuan, to advance toward a new super-sovereign currency in line with the *Special Drawing Rights* of the International Monetary Fund. The fall of the dollar in the markets was immediate⁷³. Thus, Geithner changed his point of view afterwards and, perhaps, that is the joke, after consulting the *hand book on for how to be a good Secretary of the Treasury*, made it clear that the United States opts for a strong Dollar.

The rationale of the global currency

A reserve currency is by definition the money accepted in the whole world for international commerce and all kinds of other economic activities. Before 1931, when the United Kingdom gave up the gold standard, the British Sterling was the real global currency, since then the Dollar, with the Euro *hot on its heels*. Therefore, since 1931 to nowadays, the Dollar, by one way or the other has been the most international currency.

In fact, economists have been arguing for decades about the weakness of a system based on a single reserve currency, and namely Nobel Prize winner, Robert Mundell, because of his theory on the *optimal monetary areas*. Later on, among many others, like Martin Wolf ("a global economy needs a global currency"), Joseph Stiglitz, also a Nobel Prize winner in Economics, said the present model based on the Dollar is *unsustainable*. And to replace it with one dominated by the Dollar and the Euro (or the Dollar, the Euro and the Yen), would be even worse. For this reason, the *Special Committee* which Stiglitz presides in the United Nations proposes establishing a new version of the SDR that the IMF would manage, on the same line as the Chinese scheme.

⁷³ Sandro Pozzi, "Asalto al reinado del dólar" ("Assault on the reign of the dollar"), *El País*, 21.VI.09.

In the same path as my above seen letter to Senator Obama, Nouriel Roubini, professor at New York University, warns that before we know it, the *greenback* will be challenged by other currencies, with the number one possibility being the *Asian basket of currencies* based on the Chinese Renminbi. Roubini says that the *Twenty-first Century will be the century of China* (the same appraisal (and title) of my book on China published in 2007) or Asia. Although, he admits that the Dollar will not lose its “*seigniorage*” so easily, and that the countries who are protesting will have no choice but to keep accumulating dollars for some time.

The BRIC countries and the monetary stage

Brazil, Russia, India and China, the great emerging economies in the BRIC group, do not want to put all their eggs in the Dollar basket. They represent close to 20% of the world's GDP and they handle 42% of the world reserves in Dollars. In that context, in the middle of June 2009, while meeting in Yekaterinburg (Russia), they spoke about how to avoid the dollar in their transactions, using instead their own currencies, in what could be the first step in a change in the structure of the reserve system.

But inside the BRIC, the Russian President Dmitry Medvedev (in agreement with Putin, of course), has a broader vision. He thinks that the creation of a system of *supranational* payments would reinforce the whole system. The Kremlin, as well as the Chinese government, insists that it would approach debate cautiously, without ruffling any feathers. “No one wants to ruin the dollar”, remarked Arkady Dvorkovich, economic advisor to President Medvedev.

In line with the aforementioned position of the BRIC, China and Brazil came to the beginning of a deal for bilateral commerce in their own currencies, excluding the dollar in their transactions: the first agreement of this type, in which two countries move away from the dollar to set up commerce between them.⁷⁴ This consensus was achieved during the annual meeting of the Bank for International Settlements in Basel, Switzerland, and it will be ratified in the near future in the meeting between leaders of both countries: Luíz Inácio Lula da Silva and Hu Jintao.

⁷⁴ *The Economist*, “China and Brazil will abandon the dollar to trade in favor of their currency”, *The Economist*, 30.VI.09.

Some Chinese and IMF points of view

China's sovereign wealth fund, the China Investment Corp., has been roundly criticized for losses (on paper, at least) of \$4 billion on investments in New York financial houses Blackstone Group ([BX](#)) and Morgan Stanley ([MS](#)). And many are afraid that Beijing may ultimately take a far bigger bath on the \$1.4 trillion-plus in U.S. securities it holds.

In that same sense, a few Chinese newspapers, advocate a turn away from Western values. In that respect Wang Xiaodong may be one of the most vociferous proponents. He recently co-authored *China Is Not Happy*, a book that has sold more than half a million legal copies, (with an untold number of pirated versions in circulation). In it, Wang criticizes the United States, saying it has damaged itself by focusing too much on its financial sector while sending manufacturing offshore. China, he says, needs to adopt a more assertive economic, diplomatic, and military stance. "China's policies are always based on trying to please the West. We don't think this is necessary".

Finally, we must point out that while more important changes are coming, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has begun to act as a sort of central World Bank. On the 28th of August, 2009, it distributed 250,000 million dollars among central banks, with the purpose of strengthening its currency reserves and increase cash in the economy⁷⁵. These resources will increase cash flow in the world economy complementing the currency reserves of the members of the International Monetary Fund, said spokeswoman Caroline Atkinson. She remembered, besides, that the organization made effective the agreement reached by world leaders in the G-20 Summit which was held in London in April, 2009. The measure fits into the 1.1 billion dollar assistance program to revitalize the world economy and commerce.

A proposal to the European Union: how to assume the Euro and its responsibilities in the world monetary scenario

The open letter I wrote to Senator Obama in February 2008, not yet at the peak of his campaign for the Presidency of the United States of America, was an assessment of the world monetary situation at that moment. The later process of the global economic

⁷⁵ *Expansión*, "El FMI reparte 174.000 millones entre los bancos centrales", ("The IMF distributes 174,000 million among central banks") 29.VIII.09.

crisis has confirmed, I believe, my forecasts, and the second part of this paper is a corroboration of it.

What I think, to finish my paper, is that the European Union could settle on a special working party to discuss the topics I have analyzed in my *exposé* here at Jean Monnet Action. Among other reasons, because the European Union has certain responsibilities regarding the future global currency (by the way, I propose for it the name of *Cosmos* for it) that must be assumed with the corresponding commitments.

Enrique Banús

Jean Monnet Chair and Director of the Masters in Cultural Management at the Universitat Internacional de Catalunya in Barcelona; President of the European Community Studies Association (European Community Studies Association)-World



MIGRATION, EURO-MEDITERRANEAN RELATIONS AND INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE

The **Scientific American** of June 1995 included the article **From Complexity to Perplexity** by John Horgan. It was dealing with the situation at Santa Fe Institute, where – as Horgan said – “complex people ponder complex things”. The title that originally referred to a very concrete situation at a research institute could be applied to some issues which have become relevant in the last years in the European scene. Three of them have been selected as topics for this session: Intercultural Dialogue and Euro-Mediterranean Relations are probably provoking positive connotations in the citizens’ mind, whereas migration probably has to deal with a more complex reaction. But also both Euro-Mediterranean Relations and Intercultural Dialogue can be the point of departure for difficult debates.

Introductory remarks should of course not substitute the experts’ presentation, but give only some framework remarks for the following statements, some reflections, some questions too, maybe also the expression of a certain perplexity in front of such difficult and at the same time relevant topics.

Migration as challenge

In fact, the “Migration” issue is one of the most relevant challenges Europe has been facing for more than a decade. The situation in the different Member States is by no means comparable: there are countries having a long experience in receiving migrants, whereas other countries are nowadays experiencing the inverse stream. Countries like Spain have reversed the tendency in the last few years, being now a receiver country whereas it has been during decades an emigrating society.

The emergence of a space without controls at the internal borders, a space in which free movement is guaranteed not only for European Union citizens and the consciousness that migration – like all human phenomena – has not only positive consequences, has caused an awareness for the need to develop a coordinated reaction with political measures which probably cannot be named as a common policy but which have fostered an impressive evolution in the last decades. When the European Union was established, the image of the “three pillars” was very common. It was expected that the third pillar would have a slow evolution taking into account that it was touching sensitive points of the States’ sovereignty, aspects in which the sensitivity of the States was clearly differentiated. But things have evolved with an unexpected acceleration also due to the pressure of the events since 2001. On that way, the possible inclusion of aspects of an internal policy into the mechanisms and rules of the European Community – and not only of intergovernmental cooperation – can be seen as a revolution in the history of European integration.

But migration is not only a “technical” issue that has to be regulated from a legal point of view. It is moreover a question to the European societies - or a set of questions that affect the core of the “European identity” – if it exists – or of “European culture”, if culture in fact includes values, attitudes, patterns, mental worlds.

Many questions arise, for example: Should migration be seen only from the perspective of the European countries as recipient countries? Should be taken into account mainly the needs of the labour market? In what relation should be migration policy and development policy?

These are questions for the politics. But concerning migration, the societies in Europe are also addressed. Europeans have been during centuries so often migrants, due to political prosecution, economic misery, missionary zeal and so many other motivations. They have stayed in different countries all over the world; their descendents are still living there. Now, when their continent has become attractive for so many citizens from other parts of the world (and from some parts of Europe itself), how will they react?

The debate around the veil in different countries shows that the answer is by no means simple, that a relatively collateral question can provoke debates and struggles around the topic how much integration has to be demanded, how much diversity can be accepted.

Intercultural Dialogue: an experience and a style

Intercultural dialogue is intrinsically connected with the migration issue. Intercultural Dialogue is often understood as the European strategy in international relations, especially with those cultures with which a conflict could happen. Intercultural dialogue is therefore sometimes seen as the European answer to the clash of civilizations which has been announced by Samuel Huntington and has been seen in the tremendous attacks from September 11 and later on in Madrid and London. Some remarks are needed.

On one hand, Intercultural Dialogue started as a specificity of the European attitude towards third countries prior to these terrible events. It is in the frame of the Barcelona Process and the development of a Euro-Mediterranean policy that Intercultural Dialogue became a key point in the Community's external action. And it has to be dated year 1995, long before the terror attacks.

On the other hand, Intercultural Dialogue has been underlined within the external action precisely as a counter-action to the United States' reaction to the threats and attacks. In a world that, after September 11, seemed to fall in a new period of dominance of one power in the world concert – instead of the desired multilateralism – the European Union has tried to be present in international relations precisely via dialogue as an instrument of soft diplomacy as which the Union's external action has been described.

But Intercultural Dialogue is not only a style in the external relations. It should also be the guideline for the action inwards, in societies which are becoming less homogenous. Nevertheless, Intercultural Dialogue is addressing also the question of the values which have to be respected in any dialogue, because they are essential to the constitution of a society (all the European societies) that has established a system of constituent principles as a lesson from its own history. This is the case in all European societies: after the terrible experiences of previous centuries, culminating with the two great European wars we know as World Wars, after the collapse of the political systems and the substitution of political normality by human beings depreciating extremists who have succeeded to govern the States – after all this negations of any kind of humanity the new start was done under inclusion of “Ewigkeitsklauseln”, as they are called in the German Grundgesetz, it means, under inclusion of values and fundamental rights which can never be moved. It is not by chance that in the years in which Intercultural Dialogue has been one of the priority issues on the European political agenda – culminating in 2008 with the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue – also for the first time values are *expressis verbis* mentioned in a fundamental treaty.

It is clear that Europe has, on the other hand, learnt the lesson which has conducted to the harsh criticism of Eurocentrism. It has no intention to appear as the preacher of the European values around the world. But the effort not to repeat errors from the past cannot be the reason for making new mistakes. Europe's legitimacy for demanding the preservation of human rights also when trying to improve Intercultural Dialogue is based on its own history, on the capacity to overcome its own past, with all its darkness, and to have found a new paradigm of acting together based precisely on Intercultural Dialogue, on the creation of rules and institutions for guaranteeing that this dialogue, which has many elements of interculturality can never be abandoned.

The Mediterranean world between myth and challenge

It already has been mentioned that there is an intrinsic link between Intercultural Dialogue and the Mediterranean space; it has been seen as a privileged area for applying the methodology of Intercultural Dialogue, an area which has a decisive relevance for Europe's future.

The Mediterranean world has played a very special role in the development of the cultural elements which can be considered the roots of the “common cultural heritage” mentioned in the Treaty. The further European history has moved away from the Mediterranean area, and world history seems to move nowadays to other spaces which probably will become the decisive spaces in the future decades. Nevertheless, Europe should not neglect the Mediterranean dimension: in this space, problems, challenges, synergies and opportunities which will be decisive for the next generations can be developed

In history, the Mediterranean has sometimes been mystified as a very special space, ‘un espace magique’ (Thierry Fabre), including the encounter of cultures as a specificity of this area, considered sometimes as ‘une communauté de destin des peuples’, but also ‘un terre d’accueil et de rencontre’ (Paul Rasse).

Two remarks are needed: probably, exchange and encounter is a characteristic of the whole cultural life everywhere. There is a tradition to consider culture as related to a national (or ethnic) entity; in these cases, culture is mainly like a closed world, a monolithic block experiencing influences (a process which can be described also as “suffering influences” – a loss of its own identity?) But a look to cultural history, at least in Europe (which is a small territory configured by many different cultures), shows that exchange, “métissage”, mutual influence, common tendencies, imitation, transformation and all the other forms of contact are inherent to cultural life. The expression “All the other forms of contact” includes, of course, rejection, opposition, the feeling of being threatened...

This broad sense of “encounter” has to be applied also to the Mediterranean space. In fact, it has been a space of exchange and of mutual enrichment, but it has been also a space of violence, of experiencing “the other” as a threat, a danger. With the Croatian author Melita Richter, the ‘conflicting and contradictory character of the worlds which inhabit the Mediterranean’ has to be underlined. When opening one’s eyes on the relevance of the Mediterranean space, “mythification” is not useful. The whole reality has to be included; the whole history has to be taken into account. Here also a question arises with high intensity: how should the European values be considered in the dialogue space in which the Mediterranean has to be transformed – and already is being transformed, because since the beginning of the Barcelona process many highly

valuable initiatives have been put into practice. Léonce Bekemans desire remains valid: the Mediterranean shall be 'an area of shared prosperity and conviviality between our peoples, cultures and civilizations; a zone of common values, where we can disagree in a civilized way and listen to the Other with respect for the differences, images and stories of the Other.'

The Jean Monnet Programme in front of the given topics

In all these three topics which are at the core of this session the Jean Monnet Action – now Programme – has been intensively involved for many years. I will focus in the field I better know because I had the luck to be involved in a relevant project: the organisation of three conferences on Intercultural Dialogue. In the Declaration after the first of these Conferences, authored by the Scientific Committee of Jean Monnet Professors⁷⁶, it was established that 'A policy of intercultural dialogue, next to traditional economic and diplomatic relations, plays a vital role in the governance of the shared responsibility⁷⁷'. The Union was invited 'to commit itself to an ambitious and on-going policy in favour of intercultural dialogue', that should be 'embedded in daily life'. But not only general remarks were included in this Declaration. The Scientific Committee stated also that 'the policy of an intercultural dialogue by the European Union should focus on youth, education and communication', priorities which also nowadays remained valid

⁷⁶ The Scientific Committee was chaired by Prof. Hartmut Kaelble. Members were Bo Strath, Rostane Mehdi, Antonio Papisca, Léonce Bekemans and Enrique Banús.

⁷⁷ Symposium Intercultural Dialogue. Declaration. Brussels, 20-21 March 2002.

Maria Grazia Melchionni

Jean Monnet Chair at the University of Rome
"La Sapienza"



MIGRATION, EURO-MEDITERRANEAN RELATIONS AND INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE (?) - LE ROLE DU PROGRAMME JEAN MONNET DANS LE DEVELOPPEMENT DE LA POLITIQUE MEDITERRANEENE DE L'UNION EUROPEENNE

Autorités européennes, chers Collègues et Amis, Mesdames et Messieurs,
C'est un honneur pour moi et une joie de participer avec vous à la célébration de ces
Vingt Ans d'Action Jean Monnet – maintenant Programme - qui ont marqué nos
études et notre vie académique.

Je souhaite aussi vous faire part de mon sentiment de reconnaissance envers l'Action
Jean Monnet, qui m'a ouverte à des expériences de grande valeur et qui étaient
nouvelles pour une historienne.

C'est grâce à l'Action Jean Monnet, en effet:

- que j'ai commencé à travailler en réseau, à être *networking*, ce qui aujourd'hui est devenu indispensable pour pouvoir maîtriser l'élargissement du champ d'enquête et des sources disponibles dans le domaine de l'histoire des relations internationales;
- que j'ai pu apprécier l'importance euristique du travail interdisciplinaire pour les spécialistes de l'européologie et que je me suis habituée à le pratiquer;

- que j'ai acquis le goût de lire le passé pas seulement avec les yeux du présent – d'après la leçon de Benedetto Croce -, mais aussi dans la perspective de l'avenir, comme c'est nécessaire pour comprendre un monde qui évolue à une grande vitesse;
- que j'ai eu, enfin, la possibilité de jouer et d'être jugée dans un milieu non provincial, plus large, où l'esprit de paroisse, les *parrochialisms*, ne jouent pas ou peuvent jouer beaucoup moins.

«De l'Action Jean Monnet ou Programme Jean Monnet».

Permettez-moi de dire un mot, en tant qu'historienne, sur l'à propos de l'attribution à Jean Monnet de cette initiative de la Commission et de son évolution.

Dans une note de réflexion 10 février 1969 que Jean Monnet rédigea à l'attention de ses collaborateurs en préparation du projet de résolution de la XIV réunion du Comité d'Action pour les États-Unis d'Europe (Londres, 11 3 1969), il écrivit: «Je soumet encore une fois le problème suivant à vos réflexions : comment mobiliser la jeunesse, comment faire converger les groupes de jeunesse aux opinions si violemment divergentes vers une perspective européenne et leur donner le sens de la responsabilité pour les questions de politique mondiale»⁷⁸.

On était au lendemain de mai 68 et à un moment où on était arrivé à un point mort dans les points essentiels du développement de l'intégration européenne. D'une côté une force nouvelle qui cherchait à s'exprimer, de l'autre côté le besoin de donner une nouvelle impulsion à un mouvement qui apparaissait en perte de vitesse, et Jean Monnet voyait la possibilité de mettre en relation les deux situations.

L'Action Jean Monnet a contribué à donner une réponse à cette exigence de mobiliser la jeunesse vers une perspective européenne. Une réponse élitiste, si vous voulez, mais susceptible d'avoir des retombées dans des milieux plus larges. La Commission a stimulé une évolution dans ce sens, d'abord avec la création des Centres d'excellence ouverts sur le territoire, puis avec la transformation de l'Action dans un Programme et son inclusion dans le *Lifelong Learning Program* adopté par le Parlement Européen et le Conseil en 2006.

⁷⁸ FONDATION JEAN MONNET (FJean Monnet) AMK 21/9/3.

A mon modeste avis on a mis en place à travers les Chaires et les Modules Jean Monnet la meilleure des politiques d'information possibles sur l'intégration européenne, une information qui n'est pas autoréférentielle, qui est indépendante et qui peut atteindre maintenant plusieurs classes d'âge.

En stimulant les études sur l'intégration européenne on a créé des réservoirs de compétence dont le laboratoire politique de l'U européenne peut profiter pour faire ses prévisions et mettre à point ses choix.

En soutenant des projets de recherches communes on a aidé à développer la dimension interdisciplinaire et transnationale des études européologiques et à constituer des nouveaux réseaux européens qui par leur existence donne une impulsion soit au Programme Erasmus-Socrates soit à l'internationalisation des Universités.

C'est juste à cause d'une grande recherche commune sur les relations transméditerranéennes au temps présent, que j'ai eu l'honneur de coordonner en 2003-2004, que je siége dans ce *panel* consacré à la Méditerranée.

L'initiative fut lancée en Septembre 2002, suite à l'offre de la Commission (Direction Générale de l'Education et de la Culture) de soutien à la mise en place de groupes de recherche régionaux et transnationaux organisés par les milieux universitaires (Associations nationales de ECSA - European Community Studies Association- et Pôles européens Jean Monnet). L'organisme promoteur fut le Centre d'excellence Jean Monnet-Luigi Einaudi de La Sapienza Université de Rome, actif depuis deux années et que je coordonnais.

Nous avons depuis longtemps dans notre Université des programmes d'enseignement aux différents niveaux y compris le doctorat concernant la Méditerranée (histoire, cultures, civilisations, relations internationales). Ces programmes étaient la conséquence des recherches développées par des personnalités scientifiques et des jeunes chercheurs qui faisaient partie de notre Centre d'excellence ou qui auraient été prêts à entrer en synergie avec nous.

Les événements internationaux récents avaient aiguillé l'intérêt de plusieurs milieux, des décideurs au grand public, vers la région méditerranéenne et augmenté la demande de connaissance vers les Universités.

J'étais en contact avec les présidents d'autres Centres d'excellence et European Community Studies Association, qui auraient pu être intéressés à former avec nous un groupe de recherche interdisciplinaire et transnationale sur les problèmes de la région méditerranéenne au temps courant, occasion d'échange de connaissances et de mobilité de chercheurs entre pays méditerranéens et de plus large diffusion des résultats des travaux menés dans les respectives Universités.

Pour constituer le réseau régional je fis appel aux Centres d'excellence de l'Université de Aix-Marseille III (Prof. Louis Dubouis), de l'Université de Brescia (Prof. Angelo D'Agostino), de l'Université de Catania (Prof. Fulvio Attinà), de l'Université de Crète (Prof. Sokratis Koniordos), de l'European Community Studies Association de Chypre (Prof. Savvas Katsikides), de l'Université Complutense de Madrid (Prof. Miguel Martinez Cuadrado). Autour du thème *Les relations méditerranéennes au temps présent: modernisation, conflits, processus d'intégration, dialogue interculturelle*, assez compréhensif pour embrasser la variété de nos intérêts de recherche, nous élaborâmes un plan de recherche interdisciplinaire et un projet de mise en place d'un Observatoire européen⁷⁹, qui aurait été approvisionné par les résultats de cette recherche et par d'autres activités du réseau. Notre projet fut octroyé d'une subvention par la Commission et nous nous trouvâmes engagés dans une coopération qui nous a passionnés et que des Collègues ont proposé de reprendre en élargissant encore plus le réseau.

Pendant le déroulement de la recherche des Collègues appartenant à d'autres Universités sont venus nous rejoindre, notamment les Prof. Chibli Mallat de l'Université Saint Joseph de Beyrouth, Esra Hatipoglu et Muzaffer Dartan de l'Université Marmara de Istanbul et Roy Panagiotopoulou de l'Université d'Athènes, Teresa Freixes de l'Université Autonoma de Barcelone, Francisco Balaguer Calléjon de l'Université de Granada, José Ignacio Cases Méndez de l'Université Carlos III de Madrid, Gaetana Trupiano de l'Université de Rome III ; et des équipes de chercheurs

⁷⁹ www.jmobservatory.eco.uniroma1.it

sont parties pour des terrains au Maroc et en Egypte, où elles ont collaboré avec les Universités locales et établi des contacts suivis.

Cette recherche autour des quatre volets de la modernisation, de l'intégration, de la sécurité et du dialogue interculturel a mis en lumière la complexité des relations qui se sont tressées à l'intérieur du processus de Barcelone et même en dehors de ça, et les éléments parfois de préoccupation parfois d'opportunité qui en ressortent⁸⁰.

Une complexité qui résulte de la complexité même de la région méditerranéenne:

- culturelle, en tant que creuset de civilisations différentes et berceau des trois religions issues d'Abraham, chacune desquelles avec son côté intégraliste;
- économique, en tant que grand marché où le Nord et le Sud du monde convergent;
- socio-politique, en tant qu'espace où se confrontent et interagissent des systèmes politiques et sociaux fortement ancrés dans des cultures politiques et juridiques différentes;
- stratégique, en tant que système de communication intercontinental d'importance cruciale pour l'approvisionnement énergétique et technologique et pour le trafic d'armes, qui est serré entre quatre *chokepoints* critiques pour le commerce global: les détroits du Bosphore et des Dardanelles, de Bab-el-Mandeb, de Gibilterre, d'Hormutz;
- gravitationnelle, car les forces d'attraction qui s'exercent sur les pays riverains sont différentes;
- démographique, en tant que lieu où le déséquilibre Nord-Sud et la globalisation alimentent des intenses brassages de populations;
- environnementale, en tant qu'écosystème particulièrement fragile à la rencontre du développement de tous les pays riverains.

⁸⁰ Voir les actes du Colloque international de Rome, 15-16 Novembre 2004, édition multilingues (MARIA GRAZIA MELCHIONI a cura di, *Le relazioni transmediterranee nel tempo presente*, Soneria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2005).

Dans les derniers cinq ans la complexité et la précarité de la situation géopolitique dans la Méditerranée ont augmenté: la Méditerranée est devenue une mer qui rebout.

Les défis pour la sécurité de l'Union européenne dans la région méditerranéenne proviennent surtout de l'instabilité politique, soit intérieure soit extérieure, des pays qui se trouvent dans sa périphérie du Sud et de l'Est et qui est particulièrement critique dans la zone stratégique du Moyen Orient, et d'une immigration massive qui vient compliquer ultérieurement la mosaïque culturelle de l'Europe et qui engendre soit des réactions ethnonationalistes soit la peur du terrorisme.

L'évolution récente de la politique méditerranéenne de l'Union européenne – du partenariat euro- méditerranéen à la politique de bon voisinage (*the ring of friends*) à l'Union pour la Méditerranée – se situe dans ce contexte inquiétant.

Ce n'est pas le cas maintenant d'en parler diffusément, mais seulement de relever que:

- la logique du processus de Barcelone, qui consiste à appliquer les principes de la *soft security*,
- l'approche holistique adoptée dès le début pour répondre à des défis d'ordre politique, économique et social, qui sont entrelacés,
- la structure conçue pour bâtir la coopération, c'est à dire les trois chapitres du dialogue politique, de la coopération économique et du libre échange, et du dialogue humain, social et culturel

sont encore les caractères principaux de cette politique.

Et je viens, alors, à la question de quel pourrait être le rôle du Programme Jean Monnet dans cette politique.

Je partage la conviction que le succès des relations entre les deux rives de la Méditerranée, des relations de tous ordres: socio-politiques, économiques, interculturelles – ne peut qu'aller de pair avec une connaissance réelle de l'autre culture, de l'autre société, de l'autre religion, toujours dans une perception positive des différences, c'est à dire une connaissance qui soit aussi compréhension et tolérance.

La connaissance réciproque engendre la confiance, élimine la peur que des migrations intenses de populations alimentent. L'Union européenne est porteuse d'une culture de la paix, qui vise à prévenir les conflits par la voie du dialogue institutionnalisé et de la négociation des intérêts.

Je partage aussi la conviction qu'il n'existe pas de conflits de civilisations, mais de conflits d'intérêts et que la méthode monnettienne pour les harmoniser – la recherche permanente d'une position commune dans le chemin de l'intégration européenne – peut être mise en œuvre dans le processus d'intégration de la région méditerranéenne aussi.

L'expérience européenne montre que l'intégration économique est suivie – même si lentement et non automatiquement, mais grâce à un apport de volonté politique – par une progressive intégration politique et une plus ou moins sensible homogénéisation culturelle. Les cultures ne sont pas statiques, elles sont dynamiques et en perpétuelle évolution au contact l'une de l'autre.

Bien sûr le dialogue interculturel n'est qu'un moyen civilisé pour gérer les différences entre groupes humains qui possèdent des spécificités culturelles, et employé comme instrument de rapprochement il représente un processus infini.

Tenter d'en finir avec les malentendus est pratiquement impossible, car les malentendus existent et persistent même entre personnes de la même culture, et d'une même famille.

Néanmoins le dialogue entre les cultures est, à mon modeste avis, un des dialogues méditerranéens qu'on devrait peu à peu institutionnaliser et le Programme Jean Monnet, avec son influence sur les Universités et des moyens accrus, pourrait jouer un grand rôle dans cette perspective.

L'éducation des jeunes est, en effet, le véritable défi pour la compréhension future entre l'Europe et les terres de l'Islam, et la création d'une dynamique académique dans le cadre du partenariat Euro- Méditerranéen apparaît nécessaire pour faire face à ce défi.

Cette création demande, au préalable, la motivation personnelle des acteurs, qui sont à même d'inspirer la volonté et la mobilisation du niveau politique tant à la Commission que dans les pays concernés, et un investissement en termes de constitution de réseaux, implication des académiques etc.

Les expériences en matière faites depuis 1960 avec la politique d'information de la Commission et qui ont abouti en 1989 à l'Action Jean Monnet peuvent servir à titre d'exemple et de méthode.

Je pense, par exemple, à des programmes de bourses de recherche de 18 mois sur l'intégration Euro-Méditerranéenne pour jeunes chercheurs des Universités soit de l'Union soit des pays de la rive Sud et Sud-Est de la Méditerranée.

Au rythme de 100 par an on arriverait à créer en 10 ans un vivier de 1000 spécialistes des affaires Euro-Méditerranéennes, qui auront acquis aussi les outils de la communication interculturelle tels que les langues et les éléments esthétiques et émotionnels du discours et qui, au contact de traditions et de cultures «autres», auront acquis une conscience plus mûre de leur personnalité propre et une vision plus claire des réalités politiques et sociales de leur milieu.

Les jeunes chercheurs d'aujourd'hui seront les professeurs de demain, ambassadeurs de paix dans les lieux de formation de la jeunesse les plus importants: les Universités.

Auguste Comte parlait de la nécessité de «réorganiser l'Europe par l'éducation»: je crois que l'Education doit aider à réorganiser les relations euro-méditerranéennes.

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**MAKING IT PAY TO BE GOOD – INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE, VIRTUE IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE,
THE COMMON GOOD, GLOBAL GOVERNANCE AND THE EUROPEAN EXPERIENCE**

Introduction - Towards Global Ethics, Institutions and Rule of Law

I am deeply honoured to have been invited to address this conference in this 20th anniversary year for the Jean Monnet Programme. My Centre and department have profited immensely and are still benefiting from our association with the Programme and through it with so many colleagues from other Member States, neighbouring states in the Mediterranean, and beyond. Our projects have tracked Malta's progress towards membership of the Union, the Union's Mediterranean policy as it evolved, the development of the European Union itself through the various stages from Maastricht through Amsterdam, Nice, the Constitutional Treaty and the Lisbon Treaty; the experience of Malta as a small but committed Member State of the European Union over the first five years of membership in the Union, and all this against the background of globalisation and its political, economic, social and moral implications.

These activities have led to international collaborative research and high profile conferences. Many of these were aimed at the general public and at civil society in particular. Indeed our Civil Society Project, embarked upon by the European Documentation and Research Centre as a Jean Monnet European Centre of Excellence in 2004 and concluded in July of this year, is a classic case of what can be done when academics get together with Non-governmental Organisation' experts to address current issues and debates of European, national and even global salience.

However, there was an added dimension, namely the purpose of actually seeking to contribute to the European debate and to the formulation of policy even, we hoped, at European Union level. We have endeavoured to anticipate trends, and may even have ended up setting one or two, who knows? The list of titles of books produced by the study indicates the range of issues covered by the Project. They are:

1. Anti-Discrimination, Inclusion and Equality in Malta
2. The Family, Law, Religion and Society in the European Union and Malta
3. Business Ethics and Religious Values in the European Union and Malta: For a Moral Level Playing Field
4. The 'Good' Company: Business Ethics in the European Union and Malta
5. The Fight Against Poverty
6. Malta in the European Union: Five Years On and Looking To the Future

I list them here in order to show that, with the support of the Jean Monnet Project, we have, for example, been writing and talking about the perils and harm of short-termism in many spheres of life (and particularly in the economic and managerial spheres) and its deleterious effects on social cohesion and even on long-term economic stability; and we were doing this a full two years and longer before the advent of the financial crisis that has brought so much to a halt over the last two years; and we were writing and talking about the fight against poverty two years before the European Year of the Fight against Poverty. The same can be said of our work on the Mediterranean, and that on the various European treaty reform proposals. The Commission's support has enabled us to take an active role in highlighting for a Maltese and wider audience what often end up at the time of publication of our reports as the current issues of the day but which start off as an early appreciation of underlying dilemmas of a political, social and moral nature.

We have by no means been alone in this. When I look at what our colleagues throughout Europe are doing and have done by dint of the Jean Monnet Programme, I see that our experience has been far from unique. Indeed, it more probably reflects the norm. Our own experience in other projects where we have not been the co-ordinator has certainly been the same, as in the case of our collaborative work with Professor Papisca of the University of Padua on Intercultural Dialogue and

Citizenship, to which we were very proud to contribute from the perspective of the Mediterranean, coordinating from our part the work of academics from Mediterranean Member and non-Member States.

I was initially asked to speak about migration, euro-med relations and intercultural dialogue; but also to do so within the general theme of the future of the Jean Monnet Programme and the future of the European Union and its key policy choices. I have written elsewhere on migration and will do so again. But I thought it would be remiss of me to let this occasion pass by without focusing on the broader issues that encapsulate the single issues. I therefore focus on what I see as the key challenges for us all at this point in our history, and on the contribution that we as academics may yet make to the evolution of Europe in the World. The answer to the questions: “what is the future of Europe, and what role for Europe in the world?” cannot be answered, in my view, by looking inwards.

We can only begin to know the answer by first asking: “*What kind of a World do we want?*” Europe can then take the shape that will work in and for that world. But we need to “think global” first. And to the answer to this question, two points are central: first, there can be no answer worth anything without real intercultural dialogue not least about Values and Virtue that feeds into consensus at global level, and secondly, Europe has a degree of experience with intergovernmental and deeper co-operation between sovereign and increasingly non-homogeneous states and their peoples that surely can be brought to the forum of dialogue about the future shape of our world, including the instruments and techniques of dialogue and decision-making at global level, and therefore about that of our Europe.

I emphasise the word “experience”. I myself have used the word ‘model’ in the past. This has been open to misinterpretation; to an interpretation that was never intended. The Union, Europeans, have no ambition to expand to take over the globe (I think!). Nor can we imagine that our values/systems/techniques can be taken wholesale and transplanted. What we have is a chequered experience of seeking always - even when, as in recent times, we seem to be stumbling and falling back - to somehow keep the dynamic of further co-operation moving forward – with a large measure of success in these terms. What we can offer for consideration are the whole complex of experiences, good or bad, as they seem to us or have seemed at times, and some key

elements of the way we work together, for thought and study and possible application in the global context – a context that cries out for some new framework for deeper co-operation and joint endeavour. I will therefore focus on Intercultural Dialogue and take a global as well as European perspective, rather than stopping on migration and euro-med relations as such. We can only succeed even in these spheres through dialogue at the global level. My key phrases are therefore Dialogue, Values and the European experience of ‘part-global’ governance.

Towards a new international order

I will highlight, then, some of the key insights to emerge from the project work that we have done, and add some others. I will try to get across some main ideas that in my view remain of key importance in addressing the greatest challenge that faces us today as Europeans and global citizens, and one that we share on equal terms of interest with our fellow world citizens - the construction of a new global order based on justice and intergenerational solidarity or, as it has been put, “a new order of relations in the world”, a true international community characterised by shared responsibility for the “universal common good” while safe in each other’s cultural achievements and differences. To this end I will propose a research and policy agenda on which some of us have started to work, but which in my view needs to take centre stage for the participants in this joint endeavour will be very many. I see it as not only falling within, but also as the culmination of the work thus far done, in European Integration Studies, and I hope that this will come up again in the following sessions of this conference. I shall lead into this via the issue of migration.

Migration

I start by referring to migration, and even illegal immigration, as it is a theme of this session and also a major concern for us and for other Members of the Union, but I do so only as a “peg” on which to hang my larger theme. Malta, my country, need not be associated only with the immigration question. My view is that we should prefer to be associated with a general approach to common challenges – one rooted in solidarity, intercultural dialogue and human values that have a reach beyond (but include) the challenges of immigration and the integration of migrants. So what I say on this wider canvas is of relevance also in the context of migration policy.

On the specific issue of migration and the Mediterranean, the migratory pressures that come from poverty and war with their many causes - including climate change, state failure, wholesale breaches of human rights, and so on - translate into significant challenges for the Union and especially for the Member states on the front line. This is, not only in terms of controlling the influx of illegal immigrants whether at the borders or by a constructive European overseas development policy and a sensitive common immigration policy. For all Member States face the challenge of the “integration” of ethnic and racial and religious minorities. *But what precisely do we mean by “integration” in a context of human freedom? We need to focus deeply on this question.* The Union, and the Jean Monnet Programme, can take the lead in clarifying and developing Public International Law, European Law and national laws in the entire area of migration, asylum and refugee law, and then immigration and integration policies can be evolved that operate in full respect of human rights as re-interpreted in the new context of our century. The Maltese government for one is struggling to find the right formula; we see the ugly face of racism and discrimination mixing with occasional incidents of mainly peaceful but sometimes violent protests from detainees awaiting determination of their status while living in miserable conditions, but also in circumstances where official documentation and true personal histories are often hard to come by.

Our studies show that we all, in Europe as elsewhere, need to review the substance and sense of obligation towards, and of solidarity with, those people who find themselves in distress for reasons not of their making, and that this implies reviewing the legal and political instruments available to us at international, regional and national level.

I now wish to broaden the canvas by developing the idea that we can start, or at least contribute to, a global dialogue about what is good for all and how to achieve it as a common project.

The Need to Work towards a Common Understanding of the Common Good

It seems to me that what is required of us ALL at the present time is that we make a genuine and new commitment to the clarification of the philosophy of the Common Good in global, and then European, terms. I see this as *the key question* to be

addressed by us all at this stage in our common history. What do we mean by the Common Good? What is it in any particular context?

I would argue, again, that we have to *think globally in the first place*, and that from this all else should and will follow, including for us a clearer view of the Union's role in the world, as well as in its internal policy-making, and this across a whole host of areas from energy to security to trade and aid to state and human rights, translating into a coherent set of new long-, medium-, and short-term policy objectives rooted in a new 'deal' on state and human rights. Without a new and clear sense of the Common Good we will stumble from quick fix to late quick fix. On the other hand, focusing on the common good, means focusing on Values to be observed at national, European and global level, with institutions and policies adapted, if not newly-designed, for and directed towards that Common Good.

And so, to *Dialogue*. It seems to me that we can get to the point of *knowing the Common Good* only with proper dialogue about Values. And this dialogue must evidently be intercultural. For this purpose, as several are doing, the academic community could work on and through such concepts as the "*common heritage of mankind*" and the concept of "*common goods*", and other related concepts that will enable us to focus on preserving and sharing our scarce planetary resources, reducing and then eliminating the waste of resources and human potential that are currently absorbed in keeping a precarious power balance instead of their being channelled into the alleviation of poverty, misery and injustice in constructive ways in a spirit of solidarity, and then prosperity and thereby security and justice for all. As I will say shortly, in my view a new or renewed global architecture is clearly needed for these purposes. Europe has been there before with the European Coal and Steel Treaty and the (less operative) Euratom Treaty, and more recent Energy Treaty initiatives, and several EC Treaty and European Union Treaty revisions as demanded mainly by enlargement - experiences that offer up a complex of concepts and elements which can also be utilised in designing a new global institutional architecture, for the purpose, inter alia, of the peaceful sustainable production, development and use of all forms of energy as only one example. But first, allow me to say some more about Values.

Virtue in the Global (and European) Public Sphere – Global Ethics and the Dialogue- about-Values Approach

Our projects at the University of Malta have been about civil society confronting 'the system' by facing the latter with its experience of values in action. They have been at least in part about eliminating double standards, about being true to values. Of course, this means the rule of law and democracy and the observance of human rights. But it also means renewed dialogue about their content and about social and moral Values. For example, some of our project work in Malta shows that what many see as a creeping moral relativism or amorality is then countered by an equal and opposite call for the safeguarding of traditional values identified with the official and still prevalent religion (Roman Catholicism). This applies particularly in the sphere of family values.

I mention this particular aspect because other, non-European non-Christian societies face the same dilemma. Traditional family values are close to the hearts of the people; yet many are the calls for recognition of rights, equality and justice for those who find themselves outside the 'norm' - homosexuals, unwed mothers, separated couples wanting to start new lives and families yet having no access to divorce under Maltese law, transsexuals – and on a wider canvas traditions appear threatened by migration and immigration leading to fear and mistreatment of immigrants, female immigrants, female black immigrants, female black illegal immigrants with children. It is in such contexts that dialogue and understanding are so important and that ideas such as "integration" or "multiple discrimination", and rules that advance "integration", prohibit improper conduct, and remedy harm need to be further studied and developed.

What this also means is that in Malta and across Europe, as also outside it, a whole *new human rights discourse as linked to values is taking place*. Often, in the West this has taken place in terms that exclude religion, although I think that this too is changing. Yet, seen from a traditional cultural and religious perspective outside the core of Europe a liberal humanist relativist discourse is the language of social turmoil if not sedition. Suddenly (or less so), for societies unused to relativism or cultural pluralism, the very foundations of society seem to be rocking: the definition of 'marriage' is up for discussion; the definition of 'the family' is up for discussion; and within Europe as elsewhere the definition of good capitalism', 'good management', 'good government', indeed it seems the definition of 'Good' itself – as accepted by most of us over the last few decades - is up for discussion. This in itself is not new in

human history perhaps, but such soul-searching always poses a challenge to each generation. And as for any new challenge, a counter-reaction is experienced to any reaction. From the perspective of the liberal (neo-liberal?) relativist humanist in Europe, any challenge to accepted 'European values' of pluralism and individual right and the economic and social progress that accompanied their evolution, and any call to dialogue about values, is then seen as a call to admit to a failure that is not felt by many, and the instinct is to dig in one's heels and reject the motion that "western" values and notions of human rights, proclaimed as universal, are being put 'up for discussion'.

So, for example, on the whole, the Maltese would argue that there is much in our family way of life that is worth preserving and indeed sharing. However, many of the same would also say that a new justice must be made available to those who are different. Often, the problem is that there is a lacuna in the rules that needs to be filled; but how to do this in a way that can be universally acknowledged and respected? The same dilemma is at the root of much, if not all, societal, including political, disquiet in other societies around the world, including those seen as posing the gravest military and terrorist threats to one another. We can try to come up with solutions individually as nations or as regional blocks, and these solutions may satisfy us in those spheres at least temporarily, but will these create yet new sources of misunderstanding, tension or worse between us and those beyond those particular spheres that we inhabit? For Malta, membership of the Union has meant an openness in debate previously impossible to imagine and hard to generate in Maltese society. In truth, that which has simmered beneath the surface for many years has emerged to test the very fabric of our society. Yet it is clear that even in areas such as family life and values, where the Union has no express Treaty competence, the reality is that no area of life is untouched even if only tangentially by the activities of the institutions of the Union. The same is true of the wider world beyond Europe's borders. And globalisation means that this phenomenon is true for every nation and society on this earth.

Therefore, no one is happy; for everybody's fundamental societal underpinnings are "up for discussion". Yet, they are! And increasingly so in the global, as well as the regional and the national spheres. Surely, these must be discussed in the open and with full respect for difference if we are to create a better international order.

On a broader canvas, let us ask: How universally moral is it: to set up and use systems for the non-payment of one's dues to society; to pillage or pollute the environment that is everyone's heritage; to lure youngsters into self-damaging behaviour; to exploit the weak, the desperate and the vulnerable; to hold back the development of other nations who are perceived as potential competitors; to withhold needed resources including medicinals from those in need of them for their health and even survival; to put people's lives or health at risk in numerous ways, often in the name of progress and scientific advancement; to keep women and children and others in servitude; to permit millions to go without access to basic human necessities; to put profit before caution in the face of possible harm? I could go on. These are among the many moral dilemmas that face us all and that call for a principled response to the complex considerations at play. And it is increasingly clear that it is the international community that must address them. It seems to me that we must all 'evolve' (perhaps there is a better word?) together before our differences pull as any further apart. Only a major historic effort of real dialogue about Virtue in the Public Sphere, while valuing and respecting our differences, holds out the hope for the creation of a new Common Understanding around Values, one that will work to reduce tension and heighten justice in the world. It seems to me that what we must search out is not uniformity in all cases, but a new explicit basic common understanding of virtue in all contexts.

Virtue and the Socio-Economic, Business and Finance Model – an Example

We have come to accept that when it comes to values below the level of core human rights (sometimes even there!) there is often no one, fixed, Union 'view' on each and every issue, so that when it came to dialoguing with neighbours and the wider world we could not take 'one view' on an issue to any regional or global dialogue forum. And if there were, the presentation of it would need to be sensitive and correct. However, perhaps, we can identify broadly accepted viewpoints in particular contexts. For example, as it was put in March in the University of Padua by Luc Van den Brande, President of the Committee of the Regions, "Our model is not a model of concentration of wealth, but a model of solidarity, equal opportunities, cooperation and partnership". More broadly, it is an example - an experience - of flexible multi-level or multi-sphere cooperation. But it is also an example of a construct that tends inherently towards ultimate enforceability and the rule of law - of a sense of 'bindingness' - of commitment to what has been agreed. Our great challenge as human beings is to create the trust -

through the construction of workable institutions and processes - that will allow such order to prevail beyond our particular sphere(s).

The fact remains that, although there has been much convergence if not integration, there is no one view on all things in Europe, but indeed still lack of consensus, for example, over any one economic or managerial or social model. Of course, there is room always for divergence but, utilising all our knowledge and experience and those of our fellow citizens of the world, can we not come closer to a core basic common ethical understanding of what is right and what is wrong in terms of the common good?

We must first agree that Values – ‘virtue’ as it is often referred to in business ethics, taking us beyond the ‘value of profit-making’ - should permeate our trade and our commerce; recent events are indeed spurring us in this direction. But can we then fail to also address together some of the harder issues about which we have for too long agreed to disagree, with the result that ethical considerations have perhaps given way to ‘market realities’ *sans* ethics? For agreeing on core values means taking a hard look at our national models, and the ways in which our own convictions and institutions prevent us from working a common understanding of virtue into our economic activity. Surely we cannot accept on the one hand that trade and commerce are not ends in themselves, and that justice and human rights demand the pursuit of wealth in a proper manner and then its proper use, without on the other hand also facing and resolving questions of social justice in the production and distribution of wealth created and generated by a market supported by the efforts and resources of all. And this will mean looking with an open mind at one another’s ‘models’, and again at our own.

Subsidiarity, a principle often interpreted and employed in the European Union context in order to keep social political discourse at national level, seems today to be pointing us in the direction of requiring action at the European Union level, and it certainly seems to me to point to the need for discussion and consensus on a number of issues at global level if we are to create **a level moral playing field at global level**, in other words if the aim is to ‘make it pay to be good’ at global level. Such a moral playing field must be universal or it will not work, for if not universal the playing field will not be level – and it will pay to be bad when others are trying to be good. And it will not pay to be good when others can be bad; indeed that would be market-place suicide. This is

the real lesson of the market failures that we have suffered: greed is infectious and will spread if unchecked. This goes beyond concluding that while markets must be allowed to operate state, regional and even global bodies must be allowed to regulate in new ways; for it means *re-organising our ideas of 'good' market operation* not only in technical terms but especially in virtue (ethical) terms, and dialoguing about this in order that appropriate rules be put in place at all relevant levels (or spheres).

In this challenging context, academics have noted the changes required of their disciplines; none more so in recent times than our economist colleagues. But similar ‘doctrinal crises’ have presented themselves to international relations specialists, to political scientists, to social anthropologists, to moral theologians, to management and business scientists, to scientists in general, and even to law professors. Key debates have been coming to a head: Constitutionalism or not? Regulation or self-regulation, or no regulation, de-regulation or re-regulation? Free market or social market? Freedom of religion or freedom from religion? And so on. *And through all this, the underlying question: are supposed alternatives such as these false antagonists? Is the matter not so complex that we need to be able to employ a mix of strategies and tools, and the appropriate mix at the appropriate time and in the appropriate context? So, when is the appropriate time for what; what makes the right mix for which context?* Some writers in the economics field use the phrase “complexity economics” to signify the complexity of the arguments and the fact that no one idea or theory can provide a full explanation and basis for action, unless it be perhaps a super-theory that gives due play to each relevant theoretical standpoint. If this is a new awakening to a truth in economics, are we not all guilty, to some degree, of mono-disciplinarity, and worse, within that mono-disciplinarity, of mono-theory? Call what is needed ‘complexity studies’, call it “cross-disciplinary-complexity studies”. But even these notions may not encapsulate the fullness of the idea. For underpinning all these efforts must also be the overriding preoccupation with Values Dialogue with a view to identifying the Common Good – which all disciplines should ideally serve.

Again then, *what is the Common Good as far as the business world is concerned?* We now hear of some American MBA students devising “the oath of the MBA graduate” to take full account of Corporate Governance and Corporate Social and Environmental Responsibility. It has been left to our students to declare that which should have formed not only the basis of vague and voluntary, sometimes self-serving, codes of practice but also served as principles underpinning the legitimacy or otherwise of

actions and omissions of company boards, general meetings, credit institutions, financial services regulators, governments, international organisations of the highest moral and legal global authority for which some form of accountability should have been in place. The American MBA students' effort is symptomatic of the desire to commit to culture shift, of a newfound sense of responsibility going beyond short-termism and certainly beyond over-riding self-interest (enlightened or not). As many of you will be aware, even have argued, and as our studies also show and argue, this is not a culture shift of whose need we all have suddenly become aware. Academia and civil society have not been lacking in proponents of the need to rethink the prevailing corporate culture; but these fought an uphill struggle in the face of seemingly unending profit and economic growth. It is a culture shift that takes its root in justice, while being forced upon us through necessity and the wisdom of hindsight - but is no less welcome for all that. Perhaps we should admit as much, and use this new wisdom as a basis for closer co-operation with our partners across the world. As I see it, then, the task ahead of us all, academics included, is to find the way forward by building on the truly "good" examples of pursuit of the Common Good – as well as the personal or private good - in the economic, trade, financial and business spheres, and by working to make this a global reality. This leads me to my next point, on the institutional and decision-making dimensions.

Articulating and Pursuing the Common Good: the Institutional and Decision-making Dimensions

I am sure that we have all detected a change in hearts and minds over recent months. Men and women the world over are shouting, saying or whispering that they will not tolerate the rich-poor divide, greed and exploitation, corruption and double standards, acts of hegemony and power dominance, any longer. They are particularly sickened and angered by what strikes them as the operation of double standards.

This public feeling, this vivid consciousness, must find expression through appropriate institutions at global level. While perhaps the immediate need is for a forum working short- to medium term to begin to articulate the common good in dialogue, it increasingly appears clear that mere tinkering with the major international institutions that we know will not suffice. A historic change is with us of the same magnitude as the renaissance, the enlightenment, and the post-second world war bringing-together of the various lessons of the past to create the organisations, the institutions and the

international order that we have known for the last sixty-five years. These, it seems, no longer serve. We need a quantum leap on the scale and depth of those historic movements now.

We learn daily of the full extent of hunger, poverty, violence and injustice and tyranny of all kinds, yet feel defeated by the sheer scale and complexity of the challenges. We look for the international order that should mount or facilitate adequate responses, and find this lacking. The citizen has daily reminders of the smallness and fragility of the planet, of the precariousness of human existence, of the fragility of prosperity and wealth, of the haphazard and unjust inequalities that both divide rich and poor nations while being present also in the former, of the elusiveness of peace and security; and, in the face of all this, sees only, as it seemed until more hopeful recent signs from across the Atlantic, power plays and posturing, instead of genuine co-operative institutions that are empowered to take the preventive or remedial action that no one community or state or group of states can take. We need effective regional and global institutions. However large or small our own nation states, we all need global solutions at least as much as we need to strive for national and regional ones. Indeed, increasingly, it will be at global level that the solution must be found.

Back home in Europe, the stage is set for the next stage in the evolution of European political, economic and social integration. If it happens, it will be contested as well as applauded. The same if it does not. So it has always been as the Communities grew in membership over the years. The last sixty years have shown what can be done and also – just as usefully - what cannot be done (or at least not in the way first attempted). Yet our experiences in Europe must surely be relevant to a world that is crying out for a new international order. The successes, the failures, the ‘non-linear’ evolution of the Union and its institutions and the relations of these with the Member States and their citizens - who yet are also Union ‘citizens’ – all this, surely, can provide lessons and almost certainly some possible elements for consideration by those entrusted with developing a new international order. My argument is that we need to consider seriously, all of us together, whether the international order can develop as such on the basis of values, tools, instruments and institutions of a kind that the European experience has shown to be workable among sovereign states and peoples. But also we need to ally future developments to real inter-cultural dialogue about values.

The elements

The Equality of all 'Members'; the principle of subsidiarity (to be applied at all levels from local to global); Citizen Representation and Civil Society dialogue; decision-making centred around cohesion (the pursuit of the common good together) allied to real and justiciable procedural and substantive solidarity and instruments of cohesion, yet with all necessary and proportionate flexibility and differentiation (including the use of soft law such as typified by the open method of co-ordination, regulated enhanced cooperation); the ultimate bindingness in principle of legitimately taken 'majority' decisions arrived at in dialogue; the direct effect of clear and unambiguous norms; judicial review: so, the rule of law on the basis of general principles of law; institutions to match. These and other elements of the European experience could transform for the better governance at world level, based as they are on fair, equal and solidary processes. Fair rules based on the equality of nations and peoples and individuals (but allowing for majority decision-making) must be agreed *dialogically*, but with a view to their being followed and ultimately enforced. Our studies on the fight against poverty, on business ethics, on international trade, on overseas development aid, on external relations and sustainable development in all its aspects, all point to this conclusion and I have argued this way also in connection with Euro-Med and wider co-operation (and therefore expressed the hope for some rapid evolution in this sense of the Union for the *Mediterranean* construct).

The "Vision"

Allow me to repeat the vision. The international order would be rendered more orderly, it would be rendered more fair, it would be rendered wholly inclusive if all players, major and minor, were brought together to devise new institutions, and affirm the values and adopt the general principles that will point these institutions towards the Common Good. Equals producing a new international (global) order.

Of course, such an initiative cannot be driven or pursued unilaterally by the European Union. And similar experiences exist elsewhere! And in any case, the European elements are only some of the elements that could find their way into the ultimate result of serious joint effort. However, whoever takes the lead; it must be clear from the outset that this has to be a joint global project.

Lest I be thought ambivalent, let me declare (in case this remains unclear) that I am, in the end, an admirer of what has been done in the name of the European Union. There are those even among us who are not such great admirers, and there are those who see the European Project itself as pervaded by unjustified hyperbole, as driven by an unstated or understated political agenda that no one understands, as lacking democratic credentials and so on. We are by now familiar with all these traits and with these arguments (but arguments for what?) and they must be kept in mind always. The European Union Project is a unique phenomenon. Even within Europe it remains a contested one. Federalists, 'crypto-federalists', or neo-functionalists and others all take different views, and it is facile – and no doubt incorrect - to argue that the Treaties as such can provide the world with a set 'model'. But all will agree, I believe, that there are certain key elements which can give the desired results with the correct approach and with goodwill, with trust - an essential commodity which these elements can themselves foster among the participants. The Union has gone from a grouping of six mostly homogeneous states, to a grouping of over thirty sovereign and significantly less homogeneous states. This experience can afford us real clues as to what a 'global' grouping with a peace and prosperity ethos might look like. The fact remains that the European Union is not a state. It will never replicate 'the State'. The relevance of the European experience comes from this fact, and also from the fact that even less can we be after creating 'statehood' at world level. And need we say that the European Union has no agenda to take over the world? The angst that one often sees in Europe about the "failure" to turn the Union into a federal state is for others in Europe totally misplaced, and replaced by admiration at the engagement of a differentiating flexibility that nevertheless does not undermine basic commitment or steady progress in cohesion, solidarity and mutual assistance.

Hope and Academia – The Jean Monnet Programme

What is suggested here is a research and policy agenda - to be undertaken with all urgency - that will explore the possible application at global and lower levels of the key principles and dynamics, all the key elements, in the European experience (plus some others), with no preconceptions and in full dialogue and cooperation and alongside other sources – in a truly global intellectual, political and moral initiative.

The news of hope? The Jean Monnet Programme has already proven its ability to produce multi-theory and cross-disciplinary insights into what is required in terms of

future methodologies and future research within and – most crucially - *across* all disciplines. It has shown how the academic world can play its part in fashioning the free and new thinking that will produce the new multi-level international order, an *order* through the whole of human existence for all peoples and all human persons. There is much to be done.

It seems clear to me that if flexibility remains a key in the realm of practical day-to-day politics, it is Values, agreed values that will give real *order* to the way in which we, the citizens of the world, approach our common challenges and opportunities. And these Values need to be articulated through dialogue on every plane and at every level. There is incontrovertible evidence that the core values that lay at the basis of the great movements of the past are largely subscribed to across the globe at the level of the citizenry. However, there is also the reality and certainly the perception of inadequacy of articulation in normative terms, or of lip service in so many contexts even to core values. Such must be corrected. Secondly, while it is essentially a secular European and international order that we have and that must be rebuilt, this most certainly cannot happen in a value-free or value-dismissive context. There is therefore the crucial pressing need to engage in full and honest dialogue about the place of Virtue, values and the valuing of difference of which I have spoken to you today – and this across the entire field of policy and human activity.

Hence my plea, namely that work on the ethical and intercultural dimensions to academic work in the humanities, in law, in economics, in political science, in international relations, in so many fields, be stepped up as a matter of priority. Values, including moral values and ethics, not least those inspired and taught by the main religions, must be the subject of deep study and account.

I repeat one fundamental point. The main religions are far more than after-life and heaven and hell and so on. He who sees them in this way misses the point. They are about values to be practised in this life - between individuals, in society, in government, in international relations, in international governance; they propose a set of social values that promote justice, peace and order – the ideals (and goals) that all of us speak of, and lament the absence of, day after day. To debunk religions, to dismiss them as dangerous or at best useless, is to debunk a primary source of the values that can source the virtuous international order that we in fact seek.

Challenge is always the best intellectual stimulus. And what great challenge faces us! We should remember that the idea of a University is based on the idea that knowledge is one. No branch or element of human cognition can be excluded if the truth is to be found. The modern 'multiversities' do not follow this ideal. True universities, singly but especially if working together through cross-disciplinarity and cross-culturalism; hold the key to a fuller understanding of the unity of knowledge, and of the truth. Diversity working for Unity is what is required above all else in academia at the present time.

I see the Jean Monnet Programme as a leader in this great endeavour. I am pleased to be able to say this, and with this to mark my personal sense of enthusiasm and celebration on the occasion of this anniversary of the Jean Monnet Programme. And I express my own awe and gratitude for the dedicated and inspired service and remarkable achievements of all those in the Institutions, especially in the Commission, who have made so much possible over the last twenty years. I thank in a special way those whom I have known personally and in relation to whom words simply fail: Mme. Jacqueline Lastenouse, M. Luciano di Fonzo, Mme. Bernaldo de Quiros, and M. Youri Devuyst.

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MIGRATION, EURO-MEDITERRANEAN RELATIONS AND INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE

Introduction

The theme of this part of the conference is the relationship between migration, Euro-Mediterranean relations and intercultural dialogue. It is no surprise to an audience in Europe that migration constitutes a difficult chapter in Euro-Mediterranean relations particular as regards some countries. The perspective of the relationship of migration and the Mediterranean basin which we most commonly encounter is that of people in unseaworthy little boats trying to get to European shores. Among the most infamous of such images is the one of people clinging to the net of a tuna fishing boat precariously hanging between life and drowning.⁸¹ Of course there are many other aspects of migration in Euro-Mediterranean relations but all of them are affected by the popular depiction of this 'reality'.

My point of departure is intercultural dialogue. This is partly because commencing from the migration and Euro-Mediterranean relations angle repeats important and valuable work which others have done (Professor Philippe Fargues at Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration, European University Institute – CARIM,

⁸¹ The Observer, Sunday, 9 September 2007
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2007/sep/09/immigration.uk>

EUI is an outstanding example).⁸² But it is mainly because migration remains a normatively ambiguous term and when coupled with the southern shores of the Mediterranean tends to become negatively charged. It is very rare to come across press reports anywhere in the European Union which focus on the warm welcome that migrants from the North African or sub Saharan African countries have enjoyed in European Union states (unless those migrants happen to be football players). Intercultural dialogue, on the other hand, tends to be positively charged in policy discussions in Europe. 2008 was the European Union's European Year of Intercultural Dialogue. Central to the activities of the Year has been the programme aimed at mobilising civil society. The Commission considered that "[T]he active involvement of civil society will be essential in highlighting good practices and identifying needs in intercultural dialogue." The Council of Europe's White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue published in May 2008 puts it this way "Intercultural dialogue has an important role to play...It allows us to prevent ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural divides. It enables us to move forward together, to deal with our different identities constructively and democratically on the basis of shared universal values."⁸³

So how does migration in the Euro-Mediterranean basin contribute to or obstruct intercultural dialogue? For dialogue to take place people need to be able to speak to one another. Leaving aside the technological possibilities of telephone contact, video-conferencing etc, the medium of intercultural dialogue is people meeting face to face and having the time and space to discuss questions, issues and positions. Understanding is at the core of intercultural dialogue and people are the vector and the medium – it is relational. These people may be ordinary members of civil society curious to meet other people on another side of the European Union's external border. Or they may be officials of their countries representing intercultural dialogue on a state to state level. They may be academics, researchers and students deepening our knowledge of intercultural dialogue and what it means in its various settings. People include businessmen and women and workers whose economic activities provide a long lasting foundation for continuing intercultural understanding and familiarity.

⁸² The CARIM research papers on irregular migration in the Southern Mediterranean are a very valuable source of information
<http://www.carim.org/index.php?areaid=8&contentid=210&sortVar=country&pubResTopic=7&hideSearch=TRUE&callSeries=7>

⁸³ Council of Europe
http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/intercultural/WhitePaper_InterculturalDialogue_2_fr.asp#TopOfPage CM (2008) 30 final 2 May 2008.

As a jurist, my examination, then, will focus on how European Union migration law aids or obstructs such intercultural dialogue. Within this context, I will look at three categories of people: visitors: how can those holding the citizenship of North African countries come to the European Union? In this first section I will examine the general rules on the issue of short stay visas. Secondly, I will examine officials: what access is available for officials of North African countries to come to European Union states in pursuit of intercultural dialogue? Again my focus will be on the visa rules which apply to them. Finally, I will address academics, researchers and students: how do members of the academic world who hold a North African nationality access the European Union territory for scholarly pursuits?

Visitors and Intercultural Dialogue in the Euro-Mediterranean Basin

At the moment all countries outside the European Union but in the Euro-Mediterranean area are on the European Union visa black list with only two exceptions – Croatia and Israel.⁸⁴ This means that, other than nationals of the two states, no national of a Euro-Mediterranean state can just come to the European Union, present him or herself at the border and seek admission. Before leaving home, he or she will have to get a visa. No one likes having to obtain visas. There are many reasons for this – first there is the stigma that being subjected to a visa requirement means that, as a group, nationals of that state are risky in one way or another.⁸⁵ It also means that individuals cannot leave travel plans to the last minute or take advantage of cheap last minute offers for holidays. If the individual does not live in the capital or a city where there is a consulate, he or she will have to travel, often more than once, to the city where there is a consulate. The individual will usually have to queue on numerous occasions during the visa process, to get a form, to get an appointment etc. Further, individuals who have to get visas to travel are subject to a whole series of intrusive administrative formalities such as producing potentially sensitive information about their incomes, family ties, affiliations. They have to provide fingerprints like criminals which will be stored and made accessible to law enforcement agencies in the European Union (see below). They have to pay visa fees and possibly fees to agencies to present their applications to European Union consulates. All too often,

⁸⁴ ***Reg. 539/2001 as amended.***

⁸⁵ E Guild, "The Borders of the European Union: Visas and carrier sanctions" Politik, Nummer 3 Argang 7 September 2004 pp 34 -43.

when they are required to attend interviews at consulates, people feel diminished by the experience.⁸⁶

In order for an individual to obtain a visa he or she must satisfy the consular official of a Member State that he or she is coming to the European Union country for a valid reason.⁸⁷ If a national of a non-European Union Euro-Mediterranean country⁸⁸ tries to come to the European Union without a visa first he or she will be refused boarding on the plane (if flying). Under European Union law, carriers are fined at least €5,000 for carrying to the European Union someone who requires a visa for entry and does not have one.⁸⁹ Denmark only participates in the legislation discussed by reason of a separate agreement (if at all). Ireland and the United Kingdom opt in and out according to their perceived interests. At the moment Ireland has not opted into any of the legislation discussed here, the United Kingdom has only opted into the carriers' sanctions directive.

If the individual seeks to come irregularly by sea, the European Union's external border agency, FRONTEX will make every effort to ensure that the individual does not depart let alone arrive. According to the Annual Report 2008, FRONTEX carried out eight sea border operations aimed at detecting and preventing irregular migration of which only 2 were not in the Mediterranean.⁹⁰ Altogether, the operations lasted more than 8,000 days and the total budget allocation for sea operations was €31 million.⁹¹ If the person does arrive irregularly without a visa at an European Union border post, he or she will be refused entry in accordance article 5 Schengen Borders Code.⁹² However, the individual will have a right of appeal but it does not have suspensive effect so the individual can be sent back before the hearing. Indeed, according to the Returns Directive, the individual should be sent back as quickly as possible.⁹³

⁸⁶ E Jileva in Kees Groenendijk, Elspeth Guild and Paul Minderhoud, (editors), *In Search of Europe's Borders* Kluwer Law International, The Hague, 2003 pp

⁸⁷ I will deal with the exceptions for officials below in that section.

⁸⁸ Other than Croatia or Israel.

⁸⁹ Directive 2001/51

⁹⁰ They were in the North Atlantic and the Black Sea.

⁹¹ FRONTEX Annual Report 2008

⁹² http://www.fronTEX.europa.eu/gfx/FRONTEX/files/justyna/FRONTEX_general_report_2008.pdf

⁹³ Reg. 562/2006.

⁹⁴ Dir. 2008/115.

Civil Society and Intercultural Dialogue – getting to the European Union

Anyone wanting to come to the European Union from the Mediterranean basin had better queue up and try to get a visa before starting out, unless they come within an excluded category. Getting a visa for a short or long stay in the European Union is not necessarily a straight forward matter. While the rules of short stay visas have been the subject of harmonizing legislation⁹⁴ other types of visa are not (or not necessarily). There is reference to family reunification visas in the directive of that name⁹⁵ and if an individual has a residence permit which a Member State has notified to the Commission as the equivalent of a visa for the purpose of entry into the European Union then the lucky person does not need to go through the visa process.⁹⁶ Increasingly the management of visa issuing at European Union consulates has been outsourced to private companies.⁹⁷ In the North African region, the company Visa Facilitation Services (VSF Global) is the preferred partner of a number of European Union consulates, such as the Italian in Morocco. The company charges a fee for its services on top of the visa fee (which even for a Schengen visa can vary depending on the purpose) and carries out more or less of the visa procedure depending on the country and the consulate, from a minimum such as organising the interview diary for consular officials to more intrusive such as pre-reviewing visa applications. The trend is towards further privatization of the visa process. Consequently, the newly adopted European Union Visa Code includes a section on the limits of what can be outsourced to the private sector.

Because the individual holds a nationality which is on the European Union's visa black list, he or she will have to submit to being fingerprinted (all ten fingers unless some are missing).⁹⁸ These fingerprints will be stored in the Visa information System which will, as soon as it is operational, be available to law enforcement agents, as well as immigration control authorities across the European Union. Of course nationals of Croatia and Israel will not have their fingerprints in the data base as they are not visa nationals.

⁹⁴ The Visa Code was adopted by the Council on 25 June 2009. It replaces the former Common Consular Instructions.

⁹⁵ Dir. 2003/86.

⁹⁶ There are literally hundreds of different types of documents and stamps which the Member States have notified for these purposes:

http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/doc_centre/freetravel/rights/doc_freetravel_rights_en.htm

⁹⁷ G Beaudu 'L'externalization dans le domaines des visas Schengen' Cultures et Conflits 68 hiver 2007.

⁹⁸ Decision establishing Visa Information System (VIS) (OJ 2004 L 213/5).

In order to be issued a short stay visa, the individual will need to show that he or she has sufficient resources to stay in the European Union. The levels are set nationally by European Union states but are notified to the Commission.⁹⁹ At the moment, a visitor normally needs to have €70 per day of intended stay to go to Slovenia or €30 per day to go to Finland. The individual needs to justify the reason for the trip in accordance with the Visa Code. If refused a visa, once the Visa Code enters into force, the individual will have a right of appeal against that refusal. If issued, the visa gives the individual the possibility to present him or herself for admission at an European Union external border post. It does not guarantee entry. It is normally valid for a stay of up to three months out of every six.

What picture emerges of the issuing of short stay visas in the Euro-Mediterranean area? The Member States notify the Council of the Schengen visas which they have issued by city where the visas are issued. The most recent information available does not include the 2004 or 2007 Member States and covers the 2007 period.¹⁰⁰ I have chosen to include the figures of visas issued, applied for and not issued for Belgium, France, Italy, Greece and Spain as regards their consulates in the capitals of Algeria, Egypt, Libya and Morocco. In the form of a table the results look like this:

Country/City	Algiers, Algeria	Cairo, Egypt	Tripoli, Libya	Rabat, Morocco
	Issued/applied/rejected	Issued/applied/rejected	Issued/applied/rejected	Issued/applied/rejected
Belgium	3,284/4,461/1,177	2,132/2,137/709	2,063/2,470/407	4,739/11,955/7,216
France	79,449/137,480/58,031	23,723/27,381/780	9,251/11,376/2,125	25,318/28,903/3,585
Italy	6,333/7,876/1,543	6,789/7,611/822	4,885/4,943/58	1,759/1,847/88
Greece	419/797/378	4,986/6,157/1,171	3,354/3,922/569	Casablanca 635/1,062/437
Spain	11,068/20,783/6,776	4,667/5,870/813	1,329/1,692/113	17,697/22,515/4,554

⁹⁹ http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/doc_centre/freetravel/rights/doc_freetravel_rights_en.htm

What do these figures mean? It means that an average Algerian seeking a visit visa to come to the European Union has the following chances of success:

- 73.5% at the Belgian consulate;
- 58% at the French consulate;
- 80% at the Italian consulate;
- 52.5% at the Greek consulate; and
- 53.2% at the Spanish consulate.

For the Egyptian the chances of success are:

- 75% at the Belgian consulate;
- 86.6% at the French consulate;
- 89% at the Italian consulate;
- 80% at the Greek consulate; and
- 79% at the Spanish consulate.

For the Libyan national planning a holiday in the European Union, the chances of getting a visa are:

- 83.5% at the Belgian consulate;
- 81.3% at the French consulate;
- 98.8% at the Italian consulate;
- 85.5% at the Greek consulate;
- 78.5% at the Spanish consulate.

For the Moroccan the variations are more striking. The chances of getting a visa are as follows:

- 39.6% at the Belgian consulate;
- 87.5% at the French consulate;
- 95.2% at the Italian consulate;
- 58.8% at the Greek consulate;
- 78.6% at the Spanish consulate.

It remains somewhat surprising, in the light of these statistics why, for instance Moroccans continue to apply in substantial numbers (ie 11,955 applications) for

¹⁰⁰ <http://register.consilium.europa.eu/pdf/en/08/st08/st08215.en08.pdf>

Schengen visas from the Belgian authorities when the chance of getting one is only 39.6% while the Italian authorities issue visas to 95.2% of Moroccan applicants but only 1,847 persons applied. The statistics do not indicate successful visa shopping on the part of applicants but very serious differences in access by nationals of North African Euro-Mediterranean countries to the European Union depending on where they apply for their visas.

When Machiavelli's Prince needs a visa

Intercultural dialogue includes an important dimension which is captured by contacts between ordinary people from different cultures. But intercultural dialogue between states and between the European Union and the countries of North Africa must also take place through official contacts and discussion and contact in the academic world. Special European Union visa arrangements have been put into place to facilitate both officials and academics not least in recognition of the importance of travel for them. In this section I will examine the measures in place for officials.

From the beginning of the European Union arrangements for a common visa black list, the institutions and Member States recognised that special provisions needed to be included for holders of diplomatic, official and service passports. The mechanism for doing this was to create a list, attached to a different legal measure than the visa list itself, which sets out which holders of these documents are exempt from the visa obligation. The visa regulation which contains the black list is 539/2001. The list of exemptions from the visa obligation was contained in the Common Consular Instructions, Annex 2; but with its replacement by the Visa Code these exemptions will no longer be found there but under the separate list compiled under regulation 789/2001 (which contains the procedures for Member States to notify exemptions from the visa obligation). The consequence is that while the list of exemptions is public, it is not found anywhere near the visa black list or the Visa Code, so anyone who does not know about it will not stumble on it unexpectedly. Thus the average citizen of a North African country may look at the visa black list or the Visa Code but is less likely to find the list which sets out which of his or her officials are exempt from the visa requirement.

In general, the exemption rules provide that persons who have already been accredited by a diplomatic or consular representation and members of their families

who hold an identity card issued by a European Union Ministry of Foreign Affairs may cross the external borders of the European Union area only on production of their documents. Where such persons have not yet been accredited they are entitled to transit through other Member States on their way to the state which issued them a visa for accreditation purposes. Leaving aside accredited representatives, there are many other officials who hold diplomatic, official or service passports. For these persons who are of less elevated official positions a variety of different rules apply on whether they have to obtain visas or not to enter the European Union. It is these three groups which interest me here.

The list of documents which exempt an official from obtaining a visa before travelling is compiled on the basis of notifications from the Member States. Thus it is up to each Member State to determine which documents are valid for the purposes of exemption from the visa requirement for nationals of each country in the world. The list is updated by the Commission and can be found on its website. There are three categories of documents which can give rise to an exemption from the visa requirement: (a) holders of diplomatic passports (D); (b) holders of service passports/official passports (S); and (c) holders of special passports (SP). For the 25 Member States which participate in the system (ie all except Ireland and the United Kingdom), the following exemptions have been notified.

For Algeria, holders of diplomatic passports are exempt from visa requirements to enter: Germany, Spain, France, Italy, Hungary, Malta, Romania and Slovakia. For all the other Member States they must have visas. Holders of Algerian service passports do not need a visa to travel to Spain, Italy, Malta or Slovakia. One can imagine that it must be quite valuable in Algeria to have a service passport.

For Egyptian holders of diplomatic and service passports no visas are required to enter the Czech Republic, Italy, Cyprus, Malta, Slovenia and Slovakia. Additionally, Slovakia does not require visas from holders of special passports. European Union intercultural dialogue with holders of Egyptian diplomatic and service passports is facilitated with quite different European Union Member States than those of their Algerian counterparts.

For Libya, only Malta recognises diplomatic (and also service) passports as exempting their holders from visa requirements. All other Member States require visas from all Libyan nationals irrespective of their status as diplomatic passport holders. For Morocco a very complex picture emerges. Diplomatic passport holders do not require visas to enter: the Benelux, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Germany, Estonia, Spain, France, Italy, Latvia, Hungary, Malta, Austria, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Slovakia, Finland and Sweden. Moroccan holders of service passports do not need visas to enter the Benelux, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Spain, Italy, Hungary, Austria, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia and Slovakia. But only Slovakia allows Moroccan holders of special passports entry without a visa.

The recognition of diplomatic, service and special passports as valid to exempt holders from visa requirements is, of course, a matter of negotiation between the state whose officials seek to be released from the visa requirement and the state which requires the visa. Thus it is worth pausing briefly to correlate the success of some countries in negotiating visa exemptions with the percentage success of their nationals in obtaining visas at all. Algerians with diplomatic passports are exempt in France, Italy and Spain where the average success rate of visa applications is 58%, 80.4% and 53.2%.¹⁰¹ There is no recognition in Belgium (success rate 73.6%) or Greece (52.5%). If one does the same calculation for Egyptians, one finds that only in Italy are diplomatic and service passports recognised as visa exempt while the visa success rate in Cairo is 89.1%. Libyans must always obtain visas no matter what passport they have (except to go to Malta) though the success rate for visa applications is generally high – ranging between 78.5% for Spain and 98.8% for Italy.¹⁰² All five European Union countries I have examined recognise diplomatic passports as exempting a Moroccan holder from obtaining a visa and three – Belgium, Italy and Greece accept service passports as well. The visa success rate, however, is very variable ranging from 39.6% at the Belgian consulate in Rabat to 95.2% at the Italian. Where holders of diplomatic, official or service passports do have to fulfill visa requirements, they are exempt from the sufficient means of subsistence requirement unless they are traveling in a personal capacity.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ At the consulates in Algiers.

¹⁰² At the Tripoli consulates.

What conclusions can one draw from this data as regards Euro-Mediterranean intercultural dialogue? Officials from Morocco are very substantially privileged in their easy access to European Union Member States without the obligation to obtain a visa, while the same is not always true of their countrymen in general. Libyan officials are the least privileged in their access to European Union Member States and will always be subject to a visa requirement unless they go to Malta. For the other two countries I have considered, Algeria and Egypt, officials from these states have privileged access to some Member States but there is no coherence between which Member States grant the advantageous treatment to one nationality as opposed to the other. Of course, once an official has arrived in one European Union state which participates in border-control free Europe (ie all Member States except Ireland and the United Kingdom by choice and Bulgaria, Cyprus and Romania because they have not yet been admitted) he or she can, in practice, travel on anywhere else in the area. Thus the Libyan official who travels to Malta without a visa is not prevented from travelling on to Germany or Sweden.

One could say that traditional national politics seem to overwhelm European Union objectives in the field of intercultural dialogue when it comes to access to the territory of officials. I have not examined information about how many holders of diplomatic, service or special passports there are in the North African countries considered. This research might reveal the tensions and competition within countries in North Africa which European Union states may inadvertently create through their visa policies.

The Peripatetic Professor and the Academic Community

Researchers and students are my final study group as regards migration and intercultural dialogue in the Euro-Mediterranean area. In this section, I will examine how students and researchers from North African countries can gain access to the European Union in order to pursue studies or research. Unlike most areas of first admission to the European Union for extended stay, the institutions and the Member States have found agreement on the conditions of admission for third country nationals for the purposes of study¹⁰⁴ and for the purposes of scientific research.¹⁰⁵ In light of the urgency which the European Union has placed on the movement of researchers, the Council adopted a recommendation in 2005 encouraging Member

¹⁰³ Annex 2, Common Consular Instructions.

¹⁰⁴ Dir 2004/114.

States to apply the favourable regime contained in Directive 2005/71 immediately rather than waiting for the end of the transposition period (12 October 2007). Both directives apply to all third country national students and researchers, not only those from the Euro-Mediterranean area. For the first time, these directives do not give a special privileged position for Croatian and Israeli nationals in comparison with those of other non-European Union Mediterranean countries.

Turning to the first directive adopted, that in respect of students, the preamble states that this mobility “constitutes a form of mutual enrichment for migrants concerned, their country of origin and host Member State and helps to promote better familiarity among cultures.” The objective of intercultural dialogue is clearly in evidence here. Also to be found in the preamble is a call to the Member States “in order to allow initial entry into their territory, Member States should be able to issue in a timely manner a residence permit, or if they issue residence permits exclusively on their territory, a visa.” Clearly, the problem of access to the European Union territory is understood by those who drafted and adopted the directive. The directive applies to students but Member States are also encouraged to apply it to pupil exchanges, unremunerated training or voluntary service, though they are not obliged to do so. Where there are more favourable bilateral agreements these take priority according to the text. The directive sets out the general conditions which students must fulfil. They must have travel documents, sickness insurance, parental authority if they are minors, not be a threat to public policy, security or health and pay the relevant fee. They need to be accepted on a course of study, have sufficient resources, have a command of the language of tuition (if so required by the state) and have paid their tuition fees (if relevant).

When students are following studies which involve residence in more than one Member State their travel and residence are to be facilitated so that the pursuit of the studies is not hampered by migration related obstacles. The modalities are set out in the Directive. Special rules apply to school pupils to easy pupil exchange programmes and unremunerated trainees also benefit from specific provisions to facilitate their access to the European Union. Volunteers must fulfil clear requirements to be admitted but those requirements are finite. Curiously, in addition to the objective requirements which volunteers must fulfil such as evidence that the organisation responsible for their scheme has third-party insurance, Member States may require

¹⁰⁵ Dir 2005/71.

volunteers to receive a basic introduction to the language, history and political and social structures of the particular Member State.

Once the individual has fulfilled the conditions and obtained a visa, he or she is also protected as regards obtaining a residence permit in the Member State by the directive. It provides that a residence permit must be issued to the student for at least one year and its must be renewable (subject to the student continuing to fulfil the conditions). The residence permit can only be withdrawn if the student works more than the permitted number of hours per week (the minimum set out in the directive is 10 per week) or the student does not make acceptable progress in his or her studies. Pupils are also entitled to residence permits for one year, trainees to the duration of the placement or one year and volunteers to no more than one year.

The treatment in the Member States of the third country nationals admitted under the directive is regulated by it. Economic activities by students must be permitted subject to time limits (though in the first year they can be excluded from economic activities). All decisions on residence permits must fulfil European Union standards of procedural guarantees including redress procedures against refusals which include an appeal right, and transparency requirements – students must be informed of the procedures and are entitled to written and reasoned decisions on their applications. Member States are, however, permitted to charge fees for processing applications and the directive does not place any express limit to those fees though general principles of European Union law may impose a proportionality test. The Commission is obliged to report to the Parliament on the application of the Directive by 12 January 2010 – it will be a matter of substantial interest to all those concerned with intercultural dialogue to see how well the Member States have been applying the Directive in respect of the Euro-Mediterranean basin.

In October 2005 the Directive on admission of third country nationals for the purpose of scientific research was adopted.¹⁰⁶ It had to be transposed into national law by 12 October 2007.¹⁰⁷ The preamble states that it is intended to contribute to achieving the goal of “opening up the Community to third-country nationals who might be admitted for the purposes of research”; the European Union objective of investing 3% of GDP in

¹⁰⁶ Directive 2005/71.

¹⁰⁷ Denmark, Ireland and the UK do not participate in this directive either.

research and increasing the number of researchers in the European Union by 700,000 set by the Barcelona Council 2002 to be achieved by 2010. It is intended to make the European Union more attractive to researchers from around the world and to boost its position as an international centre for research. Attention is paid in the preamble to the question of brain drain and back up measures to support researchers' reintegration in their countries of origin. In accordance with the Lisbon process, fostering mobility within the European Union is also an objective. The preamble calls for Member States to permit family unity for researchers but does not actually deal with the issue, leaving it to the Member States to determine.

The Directive defines the meaning of research, researcher and research institution in wide terms. Research means creative work undertaken on a systematic basis in order to increase the stock of knowledge of man [sic], culture and society, and the use of this stock of knowledge to devise new applications. A researcher is someone who holds higher education qualifications which give access to doctoral programmes. A research organisation, however, must have been approved for the purposes of the Directive by a Member State in accordance with legislation or administrative practice. As the Directive is written in terms of a research institution holding the key to mobility, Member State control over access to the territory for researchers takes place through the qualification of a research institution. According to the Directive, the research institution must initiate the procedure. Further, in the event that a foreign researcher overstays his or her permitted time in a Member State, the state is allowed to require the research organisation to reimburse costs related to stay and return of the individual. The Directive allows Member States to hold the institution responsible for costs for up to six months after the termination of the hosting agreement! This is indeed a serious sanction for a research institute and one which could easily dissuade it from sponsoring any researcher at all in view of the very serious financial consequences which this might entail.

Under the Directive, a hosting agreement must be signed between an authorised organisation and a researcher. This agreement must include details of the purpose and duration of the research and the availability of financial recourses, evidence of the researcher's qualifications, evidence of resources and travel costs for the researcher (beyond the social assistance system), sickness insurance and working conditions. Member States are to admit a researcher once their authorities have checked that the

individual has a valid travel document, a hosting agreement, a statement of financial responsibility from the research organisation and that the individual is not a threat to public policy, security or health. However, Member States may still require visas for researchers who meet the conditions of the Directive (article 14(4)) though every facility must be provided to obtain one. The Member State shall issue a residence permit to the individual for at least one year (unless the research is to last less than that period). Researchers are allowed to teach but only in accordance with national rules. Once admitted as a researcher under the directive in one Member State, normally, he or she can carry out research activities in any other Member State for not more than three months without further formality. Member States must make a decision as soon as possible and if appropriate have an accelerated procedure. Refusal of an application must be accompanied by an appeal procedure available to the individual or the organisation. A report on the operation of the directive is due y 12 October 2010.

Conclusions

Intercultural dialogue is rightly allocated a position of paramount importance in Euro-Mediterranean relations. Achieving successful relations around the whole of the Mediterranean basin is critical to the security interests of the European Union. Conflict and tension in the Mediterranean by definition makes the European Union less safe. The emphasis which the European Union institutions have placed on successful intercultural dialogue in the region is thus very well justified by virtue of the strategic importance of the area and the pressing need for common understanding and respect throughout the communities around the Mediterranean. However, for such an important political project to succeed it must be flanked by policies in other fields, such as in relation to movement of persons, which support and promote the objectives of intercultural dialogue in an efficient and transparent manner.

Currently, as I have sought to show in this paper, the situation is anything but transparent or predictable in outcome for the individual. Whether that individual is a curious person seeking to travel, a diplomat or an academic or student, there is too much uncertainty in the process of getting to the European Union. Only Croatian and Israeli nationals do not face the obstacle of a mandatory visa to come to the European Union, all other nationals in the region must submit themselves to what can be a long, tiresome and uncertain process. Sadly, from anecdotal evidence, the visa process can

also be humiliating. If there is one policy recommendation out of this study it is that the European Union institutions and Member States should reconsider the purpose of visa requirements for nationals of states in the Mediterranean region in light of the objective of intercultural dialogue. Is it really necessary, for immigration purposes, to make contact between people living on opposite sides of the Mediterranean so complicated when the people who want to travel live on the south shore rather than the north one? The situation as regards persons with diplomatic, service or special passports remains highly variable – there is a decided lack of harmonisation in this regard among the Member States. For scholars, the situation is somewhat better as there has been European Union's legislative activity which has produced two directives for students and researchers, however, in both cases, there is rather a lot of leeway left to Member States on the kinds of restrictions they can place either on access to the territory for students and researchers or by making the risks involved in sponsoring a researcher too high for most public institutions to be able to accept. There is still much work to be done to achieve real inter-cultural dialogue in the Euro-Mediterranean area when it comes to immigration rules.

V. The Jean Monnet Action and the Development of European Integration Studies

Paul Demaret

Daniela Preda

Peter-Christian Müller-Graff

Helen Wallace

Knud Erik Jørgensen

Tatyana Muravska

Paul Demaret

Rector of the College of Europe; Jean Monnet Chair at the Université de Liège



THE JEAN MONNET ACTION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION STUDIES

Mesdames, Messieurs, chers collègues, je commencerai en français. I will switch to English later.

Je suis sensible à l'honneur d'avoir été invité à présider ce panel d'éminents collègues qui soit sont ou ont été titulaires d'une Chaire Jean Monnet. Les professeurs Preda, Müller-Graff, Wallace, Jørgensen et Muravska représentent respectivement cinq disciplines : l'histoire, le droit, la science politique, les relations internationales et l'économie.

Ma présence ce matin est aussi en quelque sorte, une manifestation de reconnaissance à l'égard du programme Jean Monnet.

Reconnaissance tout d'abord au nom du Collège d'Europe, qui bénéficie, pour ses deux campus situés à Bruges et à Natolin (Varsovie) d'un soutien considérable du programme Jean Monnet, de la même manière que l'Institut Universitaire Européen de Florence. Le Collège apprécie à sa juste mesure ce soutien et la confiance qui lui est ainsi témoignée.

Reconnaissance à titre personnel également, car j'ai bénéficié d'une chaire Jean Monnet en droit européen, l'une des toutes premières ou la première en Belgique, il y a près de 20 ans.

Un point est à souligner, le soutien financier fourni par le programme Jean Monnet a toujours été accordé sans que jamais l'indépendance académique des bénéficiaires ne soit altérée. Tous les titulaires d'une Chaire Jean Monnet peuvent en témoigner. En outre, ce soutien n'a pas été assorti de contraintes pesantes. L'objectif, à savoir promouvoir les enseignements portant sur l'intégration européenne au sein des universités, a toujours été poursuivi sans l'imposition de formalités administratives compliquées ou dénuées de justification. A ce titre, le programme Jean Monnet est un exemple au sein des programmes européens.

Yesterday afternoon, a session was devoted to the global coverage achieved by the Jean Monnet Action Programme. During this session, we will try to measure the impact of the Jean Monnet programme on the development of European integration studies in different fields.

Ideally, in order to measure the precise impact of the Jean Monnet Action, followed by the Jean Monnet programme, on the development of European integration studies, one should know what would have happened if no such activity had been established. Probably European integration studies would have developed anyway in parallel with the progress of the European integration process, but certainly not at the same pace and probably not in the same manner. Because there is evidence showing that the financial support of the Jean Monnet programme, the quality label it provides, the networks it helped to establish, played quite an important role in the development of European Integration studies in Europe and in the world at large.

I will now leave the floor to my fellow panellists who will, each in turn, analyse the impact of the Jean Monnet programme in their respective disciplines, impact which may vary depending on the disciplines and also the countries concerned. I presume that they will also offer remarks and provide suggestions in order to keep improving the Jean Monnet programme so that it will be even more beneficial for the development of European integration studies in the future than it is today or was in the past.

Je remercie madame Daniela Preda pour son exposé relatif à l'influence du programme Jean Monnet sur les études portant sur l'histoire de l'intégration européenne. Elle a mis l'accent sur le caractère interdisciplinaire de ces études qui

concernent un développement historique nouveau ainsi que sur la spécificité de courant d'études au sein de la discipline historique.

Je remercie le Professeur Müller Graff pour son analyse fouillée de l'influence du programme Jean Monnet sur les études européennes en matière juridique et pour avoir montré qu'au-delà de son objectif premier, le développement des études portant sur l'intégration européenne, le programme Jean Monnet a eu, si je puis dire, un rôle de nature plus politique à savoir, resserrer les liens entre les européens avant et au moment de l'élargissement, mieux faire connaître l'Europe hors d'Europe et à l'occasion jouer le rôle de conseil scientifique auprès d'institutions politiques. Merci au Professeur Müller Graff d'avoir rappelé les noms des collègues qui ont été associés aux débuts de l'Action Jean Monnet avec Mme Lastenouse et tout particulièrement d'avoir rappelé la mémoire d'un collègue qui nous était particulièrement cher, John Usher, avec lequel plusieurs d'entre nous ont travaillé et dont nous avons tous admiré et la compétence et l'humanité. Je voudrais aussi remercier notre collègue d'avoir mis l'accent sur la dimension recherche du programme Jean Monnet et pour ses propos concernant la qualité des textes communautaires.

Thank you Professor Helen Wallace for you inspiring remarks, and particularly for stressing the tension which exists between advocacy and a scientific approach, tension that is acutely felt in the field of European political studies. It was interesting to learn that European studies are now of a more scientific nature and no longer of a mainly advocacy nature. I think this is an important point.

I also want to thank professor Jørgensen first for his detached analysis of the European Union seen from an international relations perspective and then for his explanation concerning the influence of the European Union on the field of international relations. Thank you for the theoretical connotations.

Finally, I want to thank professor Muravska for her reflections on the financial and economic crisis which affects all Europe, and more particularly some countries, among which certain Baltic countries. Thank you also for your suggestion that more research is needed in Europe in order to reduce the consequences of such a crisis and to avoid their recurrence.

Before closing the session let me to mention two persons who deserve special thanks: Mrs Lastenouse, whose name is associated with the start of the Jean Monnet Action and Mrs Bernaldo De Quirós, whose name is now associated with a Jean Monnet programme having reached its maturity.

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L'ACTION JEAN MONNET ET LE DEVELOPPEMENT D'UNE HISTORIOGRAPHIE EUROPEENNE

Pendant longtemps, bien après les débuts du processus d'intégration européenne, l'historiographie a continué à confiner ses analyses au plan strictement national. Bien que la Seconde Guerre mondiale ait créé une véritable fracture dans l'histoire de l'Europe, les conséquences qui en dérivent n'en ont pas toujours été tirées. Ainsi, malgré un vaste consensus apparent sur la question, il n'est pas rare que le récit des événements historiques tende, encore aujourd'hui, à souligner plutôt les éléments de continuité avec le passé. Un tel comportement, très répandu, est né de la conviction que le processus d'unification européenne est un problème concernant exclusivement les États et leur politique étrangère et diplomatique et que le processus d'unification européenne devait donc être étudié à l'aune de la méthodologie et des critères propres aux relations internationales, comme si l'Europe était quelque chose d'autre, qui ne concernait pas profondément la politique des États tout court.

La difficulté pour l'historiographie d'adopter un point de vue différent correspond d'ailleurs à une difficulté analogue qui concerne toute la culture, encore largement conditionnée dans l'analyse des faits et des propositions d'action par l'idée typique du XIX^{ème} siècle qui consiste à assimiler le débouché naturel de l'autodétermination des peuples à l'état national.

La contradiction, qui apparaît au quotidien dans le monde contemporain, entre la dimension supranationale des problèmes et la dimension nationale du pouvoir est donc importante non seulement dans le domaine de l'action politique mais aussi dans

celui de la recherche historique. D'autre part, le problème que l'historiographie a été appelé à aborder est un problème analogue à celui des juristes: il s'agit de décrire et de définir – de créer pour les juristes – un État nouveau, dans une région déjà organisée en États, sur la base d'un accord entre ces mêmes États.

L'Union européenne, en effet, bien que née d'une procédure classiquement internationale, tel le traité entre des États souverains, a été conçue dès le début selon un dessein bien différent de celui que l'on trouve normalement dans les relations diplomatiques, c'est-à-dire celui qui donne lieu, par l'intermédiaire de traités, à des situations qui sont typiques de la coopération internationale. En d'autres termes, le processus d'intégration européenne ne peut pas être considéré comme un simple processus à caractère intergouvernemental entre des États qui, tout en coopérant dans certains secteurs politico-économiques, entendent garder intacte leur propre souveraineté.

Le projet de Monnet a eu d'emblée la nature d'un véritable projet constitutionnel, même s'il était restreint à un seul secteur. Les États, en effet, ne se sont pas limités à stipuler un simple traité international, ils ont cédé une partie de leurs pouvoirs à une structure qui, s'insérant dans les institutions fondamentales de la démocratie – celles que Jean Monnet appelait "les premières assises concrètes de la fédération européenne" -, présente bon nombre des caractères propres à la statualité. Il en dérive du point de vue méthodologique de plus en plus de difficultés à englober certains faits tels le vote européen, la citoyenneté, la politique sociale, la subsidiarité, etc. dans le schéma de l'histoire des relations internationales. L'historiographie est donc appelée à faire un véritable saut qualitatif.

La reconstruction historiographique de l'histoire de l'intégration européenne ne peut se passer d'une nouvelle formulation du concept d'État. Les difficultés théoriques et juridico-constitutionnelles sont bien compréhensibles: ce qui est révolutionnaire par rapport à l'ordre en vigueur échappe par définition au domaine de ce qui est codifié. Le processus d'intégration européenne appartient à ce cas d'espèce difficile. Nous vivons un moment de grand changement. L'histoire a connu une accélération exceptionnelle. C'est une Europe en mouvement que nous sommes appelés à interpréter, qui se définit là où continue judiciairement le processus d'unification, remettant en cause les organisations territoriales précédentes, une Europe nomade,

régionaliste, pluraliste, « intégrée », donnant lieu à des variantes d'appartenances et à des modèles de statualité flexible – de la Commune à la Région, à l'État, mais aussi à des réalités interrégionales, à des entités transnationales.

La connaissance de cette Europe a requis – et requiert – l'adoption d'un nouveau point de vue historiographique, « européen » et non plus national, d'une conception de la réalité diachronique, d'une méthodologie capable de se moduler sur le changement, qui ouvre de nouveaux horizons, approfondissant à la fois les études consacrées à l'action des gouvernements et celles consacrées à l'action de construction qui vient « d'en bas », conduite par les mouvements en faveur de l'unité européenne et par les forces politiques, économiques et sociales. Le passage révolutionnaire des États nationaux à un État supranational, de par sa nature même, ne rentre pas simplement dans le cadre institutionnel en vigueur et n'est donc pas le fruit de la seule action des gouvernements nationaux, mais bien le résultat de deux actions différentes, la première devant indiquer clairement l'objectif final et orienter vers ce dernier les forces politiques et sociales, la deuxième devant permettre d'actualiser les objectifs fixés. Mario Albertini théorise en ce sens l'existence de deux facteurs: le facteur de l'initiative qui sait voir la nouveauté, mais ne dispose pas du pouvoir de l'actualiser, et le facteur de l'exécution, qui détient le pouvoir, mais est contraint par son propre rôle à se mouvoir quotidiennement sur le terrain de l'existant. Le facteur de l'initiative, qui va au-delà de l'administration de quelque chose d'existant, est en général représenté par des personnes exclues de l'*establishment* politique, des penseurs, des théoriciens – les Spinelli, les Monnet, tous les inconnus qui se sont battus en faveur de l'unification européenne – qui ont su, en précurseurs, œuvrer en symbiose avec le nouveau contexte historique et s'ouvrir au changement. C'est à eux que revient le devoir d'indiquer avec clarté le but final à atteindre et d'orienter ensuite vers ce but les forces politiques et sociales. Le facteur de l'exécution est le facteur pragmatique chargé de réaliser politiquement les objectifs fixés. Les gouvernements et les intérêts nationaux ne peuvent pas ne pas être protagonistes du processus d'unification européenne dans la mesure où, dans le cadre démocratique, la libre décision de limiter le pouvoir national ne peut être prise que par les détenteurs d'un tel pouvoir. Mais, tout en constituant un outil essentiel pour l'intégration européenne, ils agissent aussi comme des obstacles, parce que leur devoir est de gérer, de la meilleure façon possible, un pouvoir qui existe déjà, et non pas d'en construire un nouveau. Cet état de choses les

pousse donc à freiner un processus qui implique le transfert d'une partie essentielle de leur pouvoir à des institutions supranationales.

Comme pour tout événement qui présente des composantes révolutionnaires, comme dans le processus d'unification européenne, l'action des individus à l'intérieur – ou en marge – des gouvernements et des mouvements s'avère souvent décisive dans la naissance des événements en question. Le passage des États souverains à l'Union européenne est en grande partie le fruit de l'action d'hommes qui se sont sentis « appelés » à remplir une mission historique; d'hommes qui ont agi au sein même de la crise pour en modifier le contexte, certains d'entre eux y ayant consacré d'ailleurs leur vie. L'intégration européenne est un phénomène toujours ouvert, mais elle a déjà ses héros, ceux qui sont appelés dans une langue allusive les « pères fondateurs ».

Notre intention n'est pas ici de reparcourir les étapes difficiles qui ont caractérisé les études d'histoire de l'intégration européenne à sa naissance, ni de s'arrêter sur le débat méthodologique en cours, nous entendons seulement souligner l'importance accrue accordée à ce type d'études à partir des années 90.

La chute du mur de Berlin a évidemment eu un effet que l'on pourrait définir « libérateur » pour ce type de recherche. Avec l'effondrement du bipolarisme, avec l'abandon du ciment endogène à l'Est qui avait agrégé de façon plus ou moins forcée les éléments de la diversité, et l'abandon à l'Ouest du ciment exogène (le péril soviétique), qui avait été pendant longtemps la toile de fond du processus d'intégration et qui avait cristallisé le système, les recherches sur l'intégration européenne se sont définitivement émancipées d'une interprétation plate qui faisait coïncider européisme et atlantisme et d'une longue sujétion à l'égard des relations internationales. Tout cela se déroulait au moment où l'intégration européenne connaissait un renouveau à partir de l'Acte unique européen et des négociations qui allaient déboucher sur le Traité de Maastricht.

C'est dans ce nouveau contexte historique que s'est inséré le rôle propulsif de la Commission européenne à travers la mise au point de l'Action Jean Monnet. L'Action Jean Monnet n'a pas seulement contribué à la diffusion dans le monde des études européennes, mais elle leur a donné une impulsion exceptionnelle en les orientant

vers une nouvelle approche globale, permettant dans certains cas le saut qualitatif culturel exigé par la reconstruction du processus d'intégration européenne. Elle a donné une contribution fondamentale à l'émancipation définitive de l'histoire de l'intégration européenne et au développement d'une discipline trop souvent subordonnée aux histoires plus généralistes qui remettaient en question, non seulement la place de l'Europe au sein du nouveau système mondial, mais aussi le changement du mode de vie et de pensée des Européens. Elle a favorisé l'approche multidisciplinaire, indispensable pour tous les historiens, fondamentale pour ceux qui s'occupent du processus d'intégration européenne. En effet, lorsqu'est en jeu la construction d'une nouvelle statualité, on ne peut se passer de la référence à la société civile et à la phénoménologie de ses multiples comportements (économiques, politiques, sociaux, culturels, religieux, etc.). C'est bien dans cette perspective que ce sont multipliés les Modules et les Chaires d'enseignement d'histoire de l'intégration européenne, mais aussi les Chaires à caractère interdisciplinaire, qui s'avèrent plus aptes à interpréter la complexité du processus d'intégration en cours. Il faut souligner ici comme un signal important de la nouvelle réalité européenne l'augmentation des études consacrées au dialogue interculturel, et des études régionales comparatives.

Les progrès accomplis dans le cadre des études historiques de l'unification européenne ont été remarquables au cours des vingt dernières années. Il reste cependant des héritages culturels et des barrières difficiles à dépasser. Le processus est en cours et doit en grande partie encore être écrit. Une fois achevée l'œuvre de défrichage du terrain et d'impulsion des recherches, il appartiendra – me semble-t-il – au Programme Jean Monnet d'assumer dans l'avenir un rôle de plus en plus important pour solliciter les énergies et les synergies qui pourront seules aborder de la meilleure façon possible la réalité d'une Europe en train de se construire dans toute sa complexité.

Peter-Christian Müller-Graff

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DIE JEAN-MONNET AKTION UND DIE ENTWICKLUNG DER STUDIEN DER EUROPÄISCHEN RECHTSINTEGRATION

Zu sprechen ist nachfolgend -in der Sprache der Mitte des europäischen Kontinents- über drei Punkte: erstens: die Aktion Jean Monnet; zweitens: die Entwicklung der europäischen Integrationsstudien; drittens: im Recht.

Die Jean-Monnet-Aktion

Wir feiern heute hier in Brüssel den 20.Geburtstag der Jean-Monnet-Aktion. Und wir haben dafür sehr gute Gründe. Denn die Entwicklung der Jean-Monnet-Aktion seit 20 Jahren ist in ihrer Gesamtbilanz eine *Erfolgsgeschichte* - ebenso wie das große Thema, auf das sie sich bezieht: die europäische Integration und deren historisch innovativer und einzigartiger Beitrag zu den drei übergreifenden Zielen für Europas Völker und Staaten: nämlich Frieden untereinander zu halten, Wohlstand miteinander zu schaffen, Solidarität zueinander zu entwickeln, um sich auf diese Weise gemeinsam in Vielfalt auf dem Globus zu behaupten. Die Jean-Monnet-Aktion steht im Glanz dieses Zieldreiecks und sie glänzt selbst - gerade auch, wenn sie Studien der europäischen Rechtsintegration fördert. Denn es ist die wechselseitige Verbindlichkeit der europäischen Gesellschaftsverträge, die den Zielen und ihren Verwirklichungschancen Dauer gibt.

Im Gang dieser Konferenz ist bereits deutlich geworden: die Jean-Monnet-Aktion hat sich mit diesem Bezugspunkt der europäischen Integration zu einem *Vielzweck-Programm* entwickelt. Das Thementableau der Konferenz akzentuierte *bisher drei* Funktionen:

1. die Jean-Monnet-Aktion als Förderin des *Beitritts der mittel- und osteuropäischen Staaten* nach der großen Epochenzäsur -ja, hier hat sie Großes geleistet: und zwar gerade in der akademischen Heranbildung von Kollegen aus diesen Ländern im Recht der Europäischen Union und der Heranführung der einzelstaatlichen Rechtsordnungen an das Recht der Union;

2. die Jean-Monnet-Aktion als Förderin der *globalen Sichtbarkeit der Europäischen Union* -ja, dies bezeugen Jean-Monnet-Aktivitäten rund um den Globus: und zwar gerade im wissenschaftlichen Aufzeigen der Erfahrungen des europäischen Integrationsrechts für transnationale Friedensstiftung, Wohlstandsmehrung und Solidarität;

3. die Jean-Monnet-Aktion als *wissenschaftliche Begleiterin der Entscheidungsfindung* in den zentralen Politikbereichen der Europäischen Union - und hierbei aktuell insbesondere in der konstitutionellen Stärkung demokratischer Legitimation und Entscheidungsfähigkeit der Europäischen Union durch den Vertrag von Lissabon, in der Rolle des Europäischen Währungsunion in der Weltwirtschaftskrise, in der globalen Migration, in der Mittelmeerpolitik und im interkulturellen Dialog - ja, dies zeigt das große Panorama der Themen, das sich innerhalb des Jean-Monnet-Programms entwickelt hat und zwar gerade auch zur rechtlichen Dimension, die derzeit mit dem Lissabon-Vertrag besonders aktuell ist.

Kurzum: Schon allein diese drei Funktionen sind Grund genug, den 20.Geburtstag feierlich zu begehen.

4. es gibt aber noch eine *vierte Funktion*. Und diese vierte Funktion stand *ganz am Anfang: noch vor* der Epochenzäsur, *noch vor* der so genannten Globalisierung, *noch vor* der Begleitung politischer Entscheidungsfindung. Und diese vierte Funktion ist zugleich elementare *Grundlage* und ist *Kraftwerk* für alle anderen

Funktionen. Es ist der Beitrag der Jean-Monnet-Aktion zur Entwicklung der europäischen Integrationsstudien.

Europäische Integrationsstudien im allgemeinen

Dies führt bereits zum zweiten Punkt: den *europäischen Integrationsstudien*.

Erlauben Sie, Herr Vorsitzender, hierzu zunächst ein *persönliches* Wort. Ich danke den Veranstaltern sehr herzlich für diese Einladung auch aus einem persönlichen Grund. Denn ich hatte das Privileg, zu denjenigen zu gehören, die mitwirken durften bei der *Geburt* dieser Initiative von Präsident *Jacques Delors* zur Jean-Monnet-Aktion im Jahre 1989: und zwar mit dem deutschen Bericht über das Recht für die Studie "Place de l'Integration Européenne dans les Programmes Universitaires". Aus dem Kreis der Gründerstaaten der Europäischen Gemeinschaften waren Geburtshelfer (für diese Disziplin) von französischer Seite u.a. *Jacques Bourrinet*, von italienischer Seite u.a. *Antonio Papisca*, von belgischer Seite u.a. *Marc Maresceau*, von niederländischer Seite *Piet Slot*; aus dem Kreis der Beitrittsstaaten z.B. von dänischer Seite *Hjalte Rasmussen* und von britischer Seite *John Usher* - ein unvergessener Freund.

Vergegenwärtigt man sich die seinerzeitigen Berichte zu den europäischen Integrationsstudien, wird ihre *dauerhafte Aktualität* deutlich. Dies in dreierlei Hinsicht.

1) *Erstens* geht es um die *Doppelbedeutung* des Wortes "Studien". Die meisten seinerzeitigen Berichte verstanden "Studien" vor allem als "Studieren" im Sinne des Verstehens von Vorhandenem. Sie richteten daher ihre Aufmerksamkeit auf das *Lehrprogramm*, auf die Studienpläne, auf das berichtende Vermitteln. Andere hingegen betonten bei "Studien" stärker die *Forschung*, also das kritische Reflektieren, das Vorausdenken, das Schreiben. Diese Doppelbedeutung des Wortes "Studien" ist unverändert aktuell; im Spanischen etwa "formación y investigación". Und dies entfaltet Bedeutung für das Jean-Monnet-Programm.

2) Denn *zweitens* folgte daraus im Kreise der sehr verschiedenen staatlichen Universitätslandschaften die Artikulation durchaus unterschiedlicher Bedürfnisse und unterschiedlicher Interessen an der Jean-Monnet-Aktion. In zahlreichen Landesberichten stand die Entwicklung der Studienpläne im Vordergrund und damit die Finanzierung von *Lehrpersonal*. In anderen Berichten wurde

demgegenüber gerade auch das Erfordernis hervorgehoben, die Integrationsforschung zu stärken: also den fordernden Austausch auf wissenschaftlichen Konferenzen, die anregenden Initiativen wissenschaftlicher Vereinigungen und vor allem die potentielle Bereitschaft zu reflexiven Publikationen. Auch dies ist unverändert aktuell, wenn man die derzeitige inhaltliche Breite der Jean-Monnet-Förderanträge betrachtet, wobei nach meinem Eindruck Bedürfnisse der Lehre stark betont werden - auch wegen des ambivalenten Kriteriums der quantitativen Dissemination. Die Förderung der Lehre hat gerade im Recht auch Sinn. Denn das Europarecht in seiner konzeptionellen, systematischen und kategorialen Eigenheit muß in der Lehre an den Universitäten der Mitgliedstaaten verlässlich präsent sein. Und hierzu hat die Jean-Monnet-Aktion einen großen Beitrag geleistet. Dies belegt der Vergleich zwischen dem aus den Berichten ersichtlichen einstigen Zustand und der heutigen Lage. Das Integrationsrecht in seiner eigenen Systematik und in seinen Auswirkungen in einzelnen traditionellen Rechtsgebieten zählt mittlerweile zum Standardkanon von Juristischer Fakultäten in der gesamten Gemeinschaft.

3) Damit verbindet sich aber eine *dritte* Aktualität. Es ist eine allgemeine Einsicht: *Gute Lehre ist nicht ohne gute Forschung* möglich. Klassische Universitäten sind deshalb in ihrem Spezifikum primär nicht Schulen, sondern Forschungsstätten. Dies aber heißt, daß das Projekt eines Lehrmoduls *nicht isoliert gesehen werden* sollte, sondern vielmehr immer *im Verbund* mit einer zugrundeliegenden *Forschungsdimension*; präziser: im Verbund mit einer übergreifenden Frage, mit einem erkenntnisleitenden Interesse. Fehlt dies, ist Lehre nur Schulniveau. Zwar kann man natürlich erwarten, daß die Förderung eines neuen Lehrmoduls den Dozenten zu einer vertieften Beschäftigung mit einem Thema bringt (und dann zumindest der Dozent etwas lernt). Aber die Gefahr besteht, daß sich dies erschöpft in bloßer Darstellung, in Rezeption und Deskription. "Studien" entsprechen jedoch erst dann dem klassischen Universitätsstandard, wenn sie ihren Gegenstand systematisch schlüssig ordnen, kritisch reflektieren und konstruktiv fortentwickeln. Dazu bedarf es zeitlicher und thematischer *Freiräume* der Forscher. Es ist elementar wichtig, die *Autonomie* zu fördern: ganz im Sinne von *Immanuel Kants* Aufruf zur Aufklärung und ganz im Einklang mit Art.13 der Grundrechte-Charta der European Union, der besagt: "Kunst und Forschung sind frei. Die akademische Freiheit wird geachtet". Diese Förderung durch das Jean-

Monnet-Programm ist daher aus der Sicht der Universitäten besonders zu loben. Das Programm erfüllt hier eine ganz besondere Aufgabe. Es kann dem Geförderten den Freiraum für sein Thema sichern: mitten im Alltag von Administration, mitten im Alltag von fremden Erwartungen und mitten im Alltag von andersartigen Prüfungslasten. Und auf solchem Boden wächst gute Lehre.

Studien zur europäischen Rechtsintegration im Besonderen

Was bedeutet dies alles für die Förderung der Integrationsstudien speziell im Recht und damit in Rechtswissenschaft und Rechtslehre? Diese Frage bringt zum dritten Punkt. Auch hierzu drei Aussagen.

1) Die erste Bemerkung gilt der *Eigenheit und Bedeutung des Rechts im Kreis der Integrationsstudien*. Politik und Wirtschaft sind breitflächig populär - und man darf über die Gründe spekulieren. *Recht* ist hingegen ein eigener, ein *ganz besonderer Gegenstand*. Recht ist eine eigene Welt, die zwar nicht isoliert von anderen Dimensionen steht, aber doch eine spezifische Systematik, Präzision und Disziplin erfordert. Recht betrifft die Spielregeln: nicht sichtbar und doch wirksam; nicht anfaßbar, aber doch existent in der Sprache; scheinbar politisch beliebig verfügbar und doch in seiner Grundstruktur konstant; oft verletzt und doch der gewünschte Maßstab. Dies zeigt: Recht hat die Chance zu eigenständiger Autorität im Sozialleben, zur Unabhängigkeit von ökonomischem Ansinnen und zur Selbständigkeit gegenüber politischer Diskretion. Seit jeher besteht das Bedürfnis nach unabhängigen Richtern zur Streitbeilegung; seit jeher besteht die Notwendigkeit, das Recht unabhängig und in Ruhe zu reflektieren. Der EG-Vertrag benennt daher *ausdrücklich* als zentrale Aufgabe des EuGH, *das Recht zu wahren* bei der Auslegung und Anwendung des Gemeinschaftsrechts - also unabhängig von den interessengeleiteten und parteiischen Verständnissen durch einzelstaatliche Regierungen, durch regionale Verwaltungen oder durch Unternehmen; und auch gegen divergierende Verständnisse nationaler Gerichte - selbst wenn es Verfassungsgerichte sind. Dies ist von essentieller Bedeutung für das Gelingen der Europäischen Union. Der erste Präsident der Kommission der EG, der ehemalige Professor für Privat- und Wirtschaftsrecht *Walter Hallstein*, benannte deshalb als *elementares Charakteristikum* des Erfolgs der EG (im Vergleich zu herkömmlichen internationalen Organisationen) die Eigenschaft der

EG als "*Rechtsgemeinschaft*". Die Förderung von integrationsrechtlichen Studien ist eine dazu dienliche Aufgabe des Jean-Monnet-Programms.

2) Daraus folgt zweitens, daß europäische Integrationsstudien im Recht stets im Umkreis der *Leitfrage* stehen, welchen *konstruktiven Beitrag* eine bestimmte Rechtsregel für die *europäische Rechtsgemeinschaft* leisten kann oder nicht: im Primärrecht, im Sekundärrecht, im nationalen Recht - und hierbei im Privatrecht und Wirtschaftsrecht, im öffentlichen Recht und Strafrecht. Dies bedeutet für die Themenwahl von Integrationsstudien *aber keineswegs, einseitig* zu fragen nach immer neuen Feldern für Gemeinschaftsrecht. Denn *unnötiges* Europarecht schadet eher der Rechtsgemeinschaft. Das Karlsruher Lissabon-Urteil ist nur ein Ausdruck dieses Eisbergs von latenter Skepsis. Aber auch *legistisch schlechtes* Gemeinschaftsrecht *schadet* der *Autorität* der Rechtsgemeinschaft. Dies ist in jüngerer Zeit aus gutem Grund ein großes Thema geworden (Stichwort: Bessere Rechtsetzung; Beispiele: die unnötig komplexen und redundanten Richtlinien zu den unlauteren Geschäftspraktiken und den Dienstleistungen). Deshalb beinhalten konstruktive Integrationsstudien im Recht gerade auch die kritische Reflexion des Sekundärrechts. Die Förderung reflexiver Studien zur Rechtsintegration durch das Jean-Monnet-Programm ist daher zu loben: aus der Sicht sowohl der Rechtsgemeinschaft als auch der Forschung.

3) *Drittens* und endlich besteht die Eigenheit des Integrationsrechts darin, ein Recht in 23 gleichermaßen authentischen *Sprachen* zu sein. Diese vielfältige sprachliche Existenz gibt Gemeinschaftsrecht die Chance, in den Mitgliedstaaten seine Adressaten und hierbei insbesondere die Bürger zu erreichen. Darauf zielt auch das berühmte Wort von *Jean Monnet*, das es nicht darum gehe, Staaten zu vereinigen, sondern Menschen. Auf deren Überzeugung vom Sinn des Integrationsrechts kommt es letztlich an. Recht kommt aber von Menschen und spricht zu Menschen. Daher auch das schöne Wort: *Rechtsprechung*. Deshalb wäre es essentiell kontraproduktiv zu den Zielen der Union, die Sprachenvielfalt im Integrationsrecht begrenzen zu wollen. Es gibt hier zwar immer wieder einmal Versuche interessierter Akteure, aber ihnen ist entgegenzutreten. Die Union darf sich schon allgemein nicht von den Bürgern abheben mittels einer unverständlichen Priestersprache, die sich in einem kleinen Expertenkreis und mit Privilegierung einer einzelnen Sprachgruppe allzuleicht einstellt. Dies gilt noch

stärker im Recht, das seinem Wesen nach sprachgebunden ist. Auch nationale Richter müssen Integrationsrecht verstehen. Deshalb ist das Jean-Monnet-Programm sehr zu loben, wenn es vor allem diejenigen Anträge ermutigt und fördert, die das europäische *Integrationsrecht* in der jeweiligen *Landessprache* eines Mitgliedstaats lehren, reflektieren, publizieren, verbreiten und verankern. Auch hier sind die Bedürfnisse in der erweiterten Union des Jahres 2009 und ihrem neuen Planungshorizont 2020 nicht geringer als vor 20 Jahren.

Und deshalb ist der heutige Wunsch an das Geburtstagskind und sein großes Potential zu konstruktiven Leistungen: *ad multos annos* - also eine Hoffnung auf viele weitere Jahre.

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POLITICAL SCIENCE AND THE STUDY OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

We are here to celebrate and to reflect upon 20 years of the Jean Monnet Programme. But let me take a moment to make reference to earlier times. I am one of those here who have memories of the previous 20 years of European integration studies. I met Jacques-René Rabier in, I suppose, 1970 and I met Jacqueline Lastenouse around the same time. Across more than 4 decades officials in and from the European Commission have helped us in the academic community to develop our field of study. And those officials also worked hard to make their own institution open to the public, accessible to researchers and subject to critical study. Many foundation stones were laid in those earlier times. On these have been built the Jean Monnet Action and Programme. On these have also been built the activities of the research framework programmes, managed by Directorate General Research, to promote social science research on European integration. So I add my tribute to the constructive collaboration that has flourished.

I want to make four points about political science and the study of European integration:

1. Within political science the study of European integration has been increasingly mainstreamed;

2. There is a flourishing transnational community of scholarship for political scientists working on European integration;
3. Some issues arise from the proximity of the academic and practitioner communities; and
4. Current developments have some consequences for our teaching and research.

The mainstreaming of the study of European integration

What do I mean by this? Departments of Political Science in many European Union countries regard it increasingly as normal and on balance necessary to have faculty members who specialise in European integration and to put on courses that cover European integration. Thus European Union studies are not an exotic subject and no longer stuck in the corner of 'area studies'. Political science journals routinely include articles in the field of European studies, and European Union specialists publish in a wide range of journals. Those who study the European Union do so drawing on the range of methodologies and tools that are around the discipline, including quantitative analysis as well as qualitative analysis, as well as various modelling techniques. As a result a good deal of the more recent research is at quite a distance from the old dichotomy between supranationalism and intergovernmentalism. There is much more contact these days between those who do comparative politics and those who follow European integration.

Where do I observe this? This seems very clearly to be the emerging pattern in the United Kingdom, in the Nordic countries, in The Netherlands and in Germany. Beyond these countries the picture is not quite so clear. The mainstreaming phenomenon may be especially present in those countries where the American language and American journals are particularly influential. I have seen this for myself through my involvement in the recent United Kingdom universities' Research Assessment Exercise for which I read over 550 pieces of published work from across the United Kingdom universities.

What are the consequences? Political scientists are probably becoming less interested in inter-disciplinary work which flourishes more easily in an area studies environment. The research being produced may make less of a contribution to 'European Union studies' but make more of a contribution to core debates in political

science. And a good deal of this work (both teaching and research) is far removed from the activities of the Jean Monnet network.

A transnational community of scholarship in political science

There is indeed a transnational community of scholars in political science who study European integration – and it is also a trans-continental community. To be sure scholars from some countries are better connected than those from other countries. Some countries produce a greater and richer diversity of scholarship – perhaps especially the United Kingdom and The Netherlands because their universities are so open to foreigners.

This community is stimulated by a variety of mechanisms. Of course these include the Jean Monnet Programme and the research framework programmes – but not only. The academic community has done a great deal for itself and at its own initiative to develop this transnational community – the European Consortium for Political Research, the American European Union Studies Association (EUSA), the British University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES) and so forth. Some key journals are also very important in providing the links and the incentives for publication to a transnational readership. So this conference is just one among many transnational meeting places.

However, the transnational community that I can most easily identify is an Anglophone community. It may well be the case that the linguistic divide will continue to play an important role. Tighter university budgets will also be a constraint.

The proximity of academics and practitioners

Academics are analysts but may also be advocates and/or ambassadors. We are on very tricky ground here. The mainstreaming of European Union political studies in political science carries with it the implication that research and teaching are anchored by the depth and sophistication of their analytical parameters. The research that is produced has to be subject to the quality control processes in the discipline and to the assessment criteria that predominate in the discipline. As a member of an Research Assessment Exercise panel for political science in the United Kingdom I read a great deal of recent research on European political integration which had to be

evaluated according to the same stringent criteria as other branches of political science.

Why do I stress this? I do so because European Union integration studies are a field which attracts 'friends of the project'. It is a field in which it is very easy for analysis to slip into advocacy, not least when we are reporting our work to audiences full of practitioners. So we have to tread a careful line between analysis and advocacy in our work. We as academics need to engage in tough and critical analysis – and my own view is that we as academics could do a better job of this than we do. Indeed we as academics will be better academics in our field if our work is of the highest professional quality. We are better 'friends of the project' if we are able to be constructively critical and hence able, as they say, 'to speak truth to power'. Our work will be better understood and appreciated as independent if we keep this in mind. And we need to recognise that this is probably much harder for political scientists than for lawyers or economists.

Current developments and their consequences for research

Let me simply identify a few trends that I observe from recent research.

European Union processes continue to evolve like Charles Darwin's finches. They do not converge around a single predominant model of policy-making and politics. On the contrary there is hybridisation within and across policy sectors. So we need to be smarter in understanding these processes of evolution.

The pull of domestic politics against the forces of integration is getting stronger. The boundaries between the domestic political spaces and the European political space are under continuous renegotiation. The Karlsruhe judgement on the Lisbon Treaty is one example of this. Negative referenda on treaty reform are another. This suggests that we need to encourage even more scientific collaboration between scholars of integration and scholars of comparative politics.

There is an important and indeed increasingly important interface between Europeanisation and globalisation. This has consequences both for European integration and for domestic politics. Here is a subject for further work by scholars in both political science and international relations.

As for the institutional setting of the European Union, pretty much all the recent political science literature indicates that practitioners have adapted their behaviour to cope with the absence thus far of treaty reform. The institutional system continues to deliver similar patterns and volumes of output – and despite the recent enlargements of European Union membership. So there is a striking resilience, whatever the outcome of Lisbon ratification. I stress this point because it is a point on which scholars and practitioners tend to disagree.

As for enlargement, so far its impacts on the European Union system have been perhaps surprisingly limited.

No institutional gridlock and not yet at least much variation in policy outcomes.

However, five years since 2004 are still early days. We need good time series evaluations. My guess is that we shall see continuity in most areas of market regulation except for labour markets, but that we shall see rather more frictions in policy areas that involve distribution and redistribution, as well as in those where relative wealth and poverty impact on governments' – and societies' – policy preferences. In addition my best guess is that we shall need to pay much more attention in the future to the new political geography of the enlarged European Union and to the ways in which this impacts on foreign and security policies. Here too there is an important subject more particularly for international relations scholars.

And of course there is another big subject for us, namely the impact of the current financial and economic crisis on European politics. Frankly political scientists did not do a very good job of examining the politics of so-called 'Eurosclerosis' in the 1970s and early 1980s. We should seek to do a better job of understanding the current global crisis, since I suspect that it raises rather big challenges for us both at the country level and at the collective European level.

In short – there is plenty to keep political scientists busy for the next twenty years!!

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THE JEAN MONNET ACTION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION STUDIES: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS 1989-2009

The 20th anniversary of the Jean Monnet Action is an important historical marker unto itself and deserves comprehensive reflections on objectives, milestones and future challenges. It is equally important to consider the context of the anniversary, particularly the fact that it coincides with other significant anniversaries. Thus, it is also the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall, i.e., the beginning of the end of the Cold War and the division into East, West and Neutral and Non-Aligned Countries (NNA). Consequently, the Jean Monnet Action has developed in a highly dynamic environment, not least characterized by two significant waves of European Union enlargement and a series of European Union treaty reform processes, each one codifying existing practices or legally enabling further institutional dynamics. Furthermore, it is the 20th anniversary of the establishment of a professional network, if not quasi-association, of European international relations scholars, specifically the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) Standing Group on International Relations, launched in Paris in 1989. Actually, the European Consortium for Political Research itself should be mentioned in this context, because even if the enterprise was established 40 years ago, it has first been during the course of the last two decades that the consortium of universities and political science departments has gained an impressive speed and scope of activities.

This chapter focuses on the cross-fertilization between the Jean Monnet Action and the evolution of different disciplines devoted to the study of the European integration

process, in my case International Relations (IR). In many ways, it is courageous to choose such a topic for the European Community Studies Association World Conference, because disciplines are probably foremost characterized by their own norms, standards, rules and dynamics, and therefore relatively difficult to influence from the outside. Being a split person professionally – teaching and conducting research within both European Studies and International Relations as I do – I very much welcome this opportunity to reflect on the 20th anniversary of interaction between the Jean Monnet Action and the discipline of International Relations. The topic raises several intriguing issues; however, I will focus on just the following six issues given the limited space.

- How do disciplines evolve? A seemingly innocent question. But a hotly contested issue. Why? Because it involves defining the precious phenomenon we call progress. In other words, how has the discipline of International Relations progressed?
- To which degree has International Relations been devoted to the study of the European integration process?
- As European integration is about community building, what does the case of International Relations community building look like?
- What is the meaning of ‘international’?
- Is the International Relations discipline really as Eurocentric as occasionally claimed?
- Conclusion and perspectives

How do disciplines evolve?

In the following, we will explore interactions between International Relations and the Jean Monnet Action by means of two different models. Within the first model, historians of the discipline of International Relations and meta-studies analysts more generally often make a useful distinction between external and internal factors explaining the evolution of the discipline (Schmidt 1998; Friedrichs 2004; Holden 2006, Valbjørn 2008). External factors include, for instance, shifting configurations of polarity in the international system. Two examples suffice for illustrative purposes. The so-called twenty years’ crisis (1919-1939) was characterized by the failure of the League of Nations, liberal internationalism more generally, and the breakdown of the otherwise long-standing multipolar international order. Especially the two first features provoked

fierce criticism and empowered realist positions and propositions (Carr 1939; Morgenthau 1946). In this fashion, the dynamics of world politics triggered changes in the balance of power among academic conceptions of the nature of the emerging discipline. The second example is the Cold War having a significant impact on the discipline and the theories that provide the discipline with a sense of identity. Specifically, the usefulness for state and society of various area studies was to some degree determined by East-West dynamics; hence, centres for 'communist studies' proliferated in the West, just as specialized centres popped up in the East, focusing on e.g. North America. In this perspective, we should expect the end of the Cold War also to have an impact on how we theorize international relations (cf. Allan and Goldman eds. 1992). For the same reason, the redirection of funding from 'Eastern' area studies to centres for Middle East studies is not particularly surprising. In this perspective, the 1989 launch of the Jean Monnet Action also makes sense, because Europe seemed destined to become whole and free and in urgent need of 'European integration studies', without any accompanying additives, neither 'West' nor 'East'.

By contrast, internal factors are associated with the inner dynamics of disciplinary developments. So-called 'great debates' among academics have winners and losers. The winners are subsequently predominant in representing the discipline, outlining its evolution and defining progress. The 1940s and 1950s are often said to be characterized by a great debate between idealism and realism, and the realists won. At the very least, this applies to the trajectories in the heartland of the discipline during the Cold War: the United States. As a result, the discipline evolved and it is not surprising that the realist tradition has been predominant in North America. In Europe, developments have been significantly different (Jørgensen 2000). Second, early debates within American political science proved to spill over and inform the trajectories of International Relations, demonstrating the power of internal scientific determinants (Schmidt 1998). Third, according to the internal factor model, the development of International Relations has been marked by changing patterns of sources of inspiration. At times, developments within economics have served as such sources, explaining the import of templates created within Economics (e.g. rational choice, game theory and principal agent models). At other times and other places, Sociology has been mined for insights, and templates have been imported from Sociology (e.g. constructivism, sociological institutionalism, etc.). Finally, given the generalizing aspirations that characterize major parts of Political Science and

International Relations, it is only logical that Area Studies characterized by empiricism and scepticism towards general models have been stigmatized. This tendency has included European Studies, and scholars have been told to forget about Europe-specifics and instead apply seemingly universal political science templates, created somewhere and for some purpose but usually not in Europe and not with the objective of understanding processes of European integration.

Obviously, some combination of external and internal can be imagined. However, such combinations would not alter the fact that the distinction between external and internal is bad for the theme of this chapter, because Jean Monnet Action is not external and the programme is not internal, either. As we have seen, changing configurations of world power suggest why the Jean Monnet Action was launched in the first place, just as factors internal to the discipline suggest that the Jean Monnet Action objectives have been countered by powerful trends within Political Science and International Relations.

As an alternative to the first model, I suggest the application of what has been referred to as a cultural-institutional approach to disciplinary dynamics (Jørgensen and Knudsen 2006: 3-6), i.e., a perspective emphasizing cultural factors such as the political and academic culture of countries or regions as well as the importance of institutional factors at different levels: department, university, national science bureaucracies and professional associations. More specifically, the approach comprises three explanatory variables: political culture; the organizational culture of both science bureaucracies, university systems and professional associations; and the habits and academic discourses within the social sciences and humanities. Clearly, the model provides considerably more room for manoeuvre for the Jean Monnet Action and enables potential impact.

The political culture of countries and regions appears to be of significant importance. After all, it was primarily the processes of political transition that made the introduction of western-style International Relations possible in East and Central Europe. Similarly, it was the 1993 promise of future accession to the European Union that created a huge demand for knowledge in the region about European integration and governance. While the impact of the Jean Monnet Action is hardly important in the context of political transition processes at the macro level, the impact of funding

mobility programmes, syllabi development and the promotion of European scholarly networks should not be underestimated; on the contrary, it should be cherished as a major accomplishment. In the following sections, I will address the issue of organizational and discursive trajectories.

To what degree has International Relations been devoted to the study of the EIP?

From a bird's eye perspective, International Relations always has been and continues to be seriously devoted to the study of European integration. While being a fairly lonely rider – along with legal studies – during the early years of European integration, International Relations has now become one of several disciplines cultivating and contributing to European Studies. However, the emerging plurality of disciplinary perspectives should not conceal the fact that International Relations is among the prime disciplines aiming at understanding both the European integration process *per se* and the international context in which it takes place.

Historically, International Relations scholars were among the first to thoroughly theorize the process, producing some of the classic theories of European integration (neofunctionalism, transnationalism and intergovernmentalism). Part of the neofunctionalist theorizing enterprise consisted of the criticism of state-centric and power-focused approaches, e.g., balance of power theory, a criticism that perfectly mirrored dominant European Community self-images of 'civilian power Europe'. By contrast, intergovernmentalist scholars were quick to point out that the European integration process unfolded in an international context; more specifically, a Cold War context. They also emphasized the context of a military alliance, North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, providing a shelter against enemies and functioning as a lid on the security dilemmas possibly remaining within Western Europe. In general, theories of European integration became part of the International Relations theory portfolio. In addition to theorizing European integration, International Relations has contributed more significant case studies than possibly any other discipline. In the present context, there is no reason to commit any injustice by mentioning some and not the major share. In some studies, Europe is seen not only as a laboratory for global governance, but actually as a model for world politics. Generally, speaking, International Relations's two main contributions have perhaps been studies of the dynamics in relations between European Union member states and European Union institutions and the

relationship between Europe and the world, including the rather novel triangle of relations between the European Union, global governance institutions and European Union members states.

Finally, we should not forget research on the European Union as an international actor and the institutions and policies characterizing European Policy Center (EPC), Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) and several more abbreviations for both institutional and policy dynamics. In this context, actorness has been explored both in general and more specifically concerning relations between the European Union and major world powers (Russia, China, the United States, India and Japan). This kind of research also includes relations with major world regions (The Association of Southeast Asian Nations-ASEAN, Southern Common Market -Mercosur etc.); inter-regionalism has actually been one of the major preoccupations among International Relations scholars. Finally, the research on relations between the European Union and multilateral institutions has gained momentum. In summary, International Relations have a long and rightly proud engagement in understanding the European integration process, including its international dimensions.

However, International Relations have the entire world on its agenda. In this context, understanding the European integration process is a rather small – yet important – niche production. Beyond this niche production, we find topics such as superpower relations (during the Cold War), international system dynamics, international organization and global governance, international diplomacy and the dynamics of international society. In the future, we will probably witness an increase in studies of multipolarity (or multi-nodality), although it remains to be seen whether European states are willing and able to constitute the European Union as a pole in the emerging international order. The topic is niche, also in a second meaning. It is foremost the scholars of the liberal theoretical tradition who have had integration processes on their research agenda, i.e. leading theorists including Ernst Haas, Karl Deutsch, Robert Keohane, Donald Puchala, Peter Katzenstein etc.). Actually, when considering the main currents of thought within the liberal tradition, we will see a three-layered theoretical ‘cake’, providing the edifice of the European project:

- Peace-loving democracies (democratic peace theory)

- Interdependence (probably the most interdependent region in the world)
- Institutionalization (probably the most institutionalized region in the world)

By contrast, realists, English School theorists and international political theorists have largely neglected European integration and governance or, alternatively, simply focused on explaining its absence, insignificance or its reflection of underlying power politics dynamics. These scholars have traditionally been slightly delayed in their understanding of the dynamics of European integration and seem bound to run out of arguments some time soon.

Taking into consideration the commitment of International Relations to both European integration and governance and the wider world, it would be misleading to expect any particularly significant impact of Europe on the evolution of International Relations. Instead, we have witnessed how key features of the evolution of International Relations during the last 20 years include:

- Rationalism-constructivism debate, signalled by Robert Keohane's presidential International Studies Association address in 1988 (Keohane 1988).
- A gradual professionalization, i.e., less and less emphasis on current affairs and policy, more science centric. Writing columns or policy briefs do not impress the bibliometric measurement of performance, i.e., the emerging fetish among politico-science bureaucracies. Contemplating the policy implications of research projects has no impact on scientific excellence. The demand for interdisciplinary studies can therefore be seen as a recipe for diluting excellence and functioning as an obstacle to community building.
- An increase in the number of scholars. The number of attendees at international conferences has increased from around 2000 to around 6000. In Europe, The Standing Group on International Relations has been able to attract participation from 350 at the beginning (1992) to an expected 1000 in 2010.
- A changed balance of supply and demand of information. On the one hand, there has been an increase in demand, i.e., International Relations is popular among students. On the other hand, news media focus increasingly on national politics or infotainment and close their foreign affairs desks. Hence, citizens with a wider outlook than media directors will identify other sources of information on international affairs.

Given that European integration is about supranational community building, what does the case of International Relations look like?

How can we characterize the nexus between International Relations and the Jean Monnet Action, focusing specifically on International Relations in Europe? One suitable point of departure appears to be the classic issue about the outcome of integration processes. Both Ernst Haas and Karl Deutsch focused on exploring the possibility of supranational community building. This leads us to explore the degree to which we have witnessed scholarly community building in Europe during the last 20 years. We know that communities are characterized by communication, organization, identities and mythologies; hence, we know what to look for. Do we see a European supranational community of International Relations scholars emerging?

Communication is carried out by means of meetings (conferences and workshops). International Relations scholars meet at the European level, but they are less than 1000 scholars meeting only every 3rd year. Moreover, the East and Central Europeans have been able to establish a regional tradition of annual conferences, attracting up to 200 each year. Finally, several major research networks operate with funding from European Union research funding schemes, currently the Seventh Framework Programme -FP7. Combined, these accomplishments suggest the gradual emergence of a European research community. However, this emerging European community co-exists with International Relations scholars belonging to national communities, attending annual conferences in national settings, organized by national professional associations. These associations might be independent International Relations associations (e.g. British International Studies Association), political science associations (e.g. *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Politikwissenschaften*) or law associations (in e.g. Spain).

Do we read and appraise what we publish? To some extent we do, but significant language barriers remain. Furthermore, there is the reality of the massive American (domestic) market. Hence, there is only to some degree a European community. It is a predominantly English-speaking community, and English language journals function as the primary means of communication. In terms of organization, it is telling that we have national (and some regional) professional International Relations associations, but no European association. Though the European academic market is far from a

single European market, some mobility has been seen, and the genesis of a European International Relations community seems to be considerably supported by this transnational segment consisting of scholars who do not work in their fatherlands or work in their mother tongues.

As I do not want to be unnecessarily Euro-centric in the present context, let me add that, as usual, we have Europe situated between the national, the international and the global. This also applies to International Relations community building, although 'international' in this context really foremost means a transatlantic community, specifically the International Studies Association. It is easy to join, has an income-dependent differentiation of membership fees and provides many publication outlets together with other membership benefits. The association also runs extensive outreach programmes and other membership services. In short, the European International Relations community is fairly complex, overlapping and incomplete. The balance between different layers can be shaped, and Jean Monnet Program could become a catalyst. In a sense, the International Relations community almost perfectly reflects the situation of European states being caught between the powers of an emerging multipolar world and enjoying the symbolic sovereignty of more or less insignificant 'Bantustans'; unable or unwilling to create a supranational entity that would be on par with the powers of the future.

In this context, what is the meaning of 'international'?

What does 'international' mean in Europe? The answer that is probably most accurate is that 'it depends'. For a considerable part of the European International Relations community, it means foremost European international relations, i.e., international politics among European nations. Some go back to international politics, vintage 19th century, and assume a state-centric (sub-)system in which the European Union counts – if at all – as foreign affairs and an international organization (among other international organizations). Others are less radical and simply focus on 'international' topics within European horizons, e.g. conflicts in the Balkans or the Caucasus; Franco-German relations, European foreign policy or the dynamics of relations between European Union institutions and member states. For others yet, 'international' means 'global international', an area in which the European Union may or may not play a role as an international actor. In any case, this third grouping of scholars studies global international affairs e.g., relations between China and Japan, American foreign

policy, or development issues in Africa. While the impact of the Jean Monnet Action promoting European Studies probably does not change the balance between these three groupings, the organizational pattern of national European Community Studies Associations tends to reproduce images cultivated by the first two groupings.

Is International Relations a Euro-centric discipline?

Paradoxically, International Relations is occasionally regarded as a Euro-centric discipline. The primary reason International Relations is sometimes called euro-centric is that European conceptions of statehood define the units of the international system and that 9th century European power politics has been used as a template for realist images of international politics. The irony is that it is exactly this state of affairs – international power politics – that the European Union aims at transcending both domestically, i.e., within Europe, and internationally. Hence, fertilizing International Relations theories by means of insights from contemporary Europe remains a major task. In most International Relations textbooks, the European Union is more or less absent, perhaps with the exception of a brief introduction to the European Union as an international organization. I am fairly convinced in this respect that the Jean Monnet Program could play a considerable role by organizing a series of conferences on the topic.

Furthermore, major segments of European International Relations scholars focus entirely on European affairs and can, thus, be said to be Euro-centric. In a sense, such preoccupations mirror the introvert European Union institutions, being obsessed or overwhelmed by enlargements and treaty reform processes. Moreover, a major share of key International Relations concepts has origins in the European state system or European diplomacy: sovereignty, international law, alliances etc. Finally, some International Relations theories or theoretical traditions can also be traced to European origins: liberalism, realism, the English School etc.

However, counter-evidence can also be presented and actually constitutes a long list. Though there are exceptions, European International Relations scholars have not been leading in theory-building for a long time. Major contemporary theoretical perspectives – rational choice, social constructivism, principal-agent models, game theory and discourse theory – do not have particularly strong European characteristics. European International Relations scholars do not enjoy the volume of

the American single market, and the European International Relations community is too diverse and dispersed to have a significant impact on disciplinary trajectories. While the European state system anno 19th century constitutes a template for some scholars, most scholars around the world find it irrelevant. Finally, International Relations is a discipline wherein major theoretical traditions hardly pay any attention to the European Union as an international actor. International Relations textbooks routinely describe a state-centric world in which the European Union drops out in terms of constituting a system unit; and therefore also drops out of standard, country-focused statistics. In short, charges of Eurocentrism seem largely to be unfounded, old-hat charges.

Conclusion and perspectives

Due to the Jean Monnet Action (and Programme), themes associated with European integration are probably now more present in university education than in primary or secondary schools. As the Jean Monnet Programme has become active in more than 60 countries around the world, the options for influencing European Studies have been significantly improved and an operational 'lessons learned' process might produce useful guidelines for future interventions. Given that Europeans perhaps tend to oscillate between the slightly introverted and global outlooks, the Jean Monnet Programme is in an eminent position to further globalize our mindsets and promote mobility- and network-enhancing activities, including well-known means such as simply research visits at departments of colleagues and teaching European Studies to students in countries beyond Europe.

Studies of perceptions of Europe around the world are rather consistent in their findings: Europe remains largely an international nobody and only the rather small groupings of Europeanists find it worthwhile to pay attention to European dynamics and European values, interests and policies. While some of these perceptions should possibly be labelled misperceptions, they do have real effects in the real world. While it is beyond the duties of academics to promote Europe globally, their provision of information and structured debate of contending issues might have an impact on the current state of affairs.

In terms of the institutional affiliations of International Relations, Europe is characterized by fairly profound divisions. In northern Europe, the discipline is typically cultivated within departments of political science, whereas in southern Europe,

International Relations belongs to law faculties or departments. By means of support to national European Community Studies Associations, which reflects these academic balances of institutional power, the Jean Monnet Action tends to reproduce existing divisions. This is not necessarily to be deplored, because it favours disciplinary co-existence and potentially even individual outlooks beyond one's own discipline. From the perspective of scientific excellence and increasing specialization, however, such reproduction looks less positive and appears to be an obstacle for independent disciplinary dynamics. The Jean Monnet Programme is eminently suited to strengthen the emerging European International Relations community. Available means include the proven mobility support but also new means such as support to improved communication and organization facilities.

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THE CHALLENGES FACED BY THE JEAN MONNET PROGRAMME IN LATVIA IN THE LIGHT OF THE CRISIS

As the previous speakers highlighted the importance of the Jean Monnet Programme in strengthening education and research in Europe and in the world, let me give you the perspective of the programme from Latvia as a small economy, a country that belongs to a group of New Member States and which is experiencing currently, with a number of other European Union countries, very serious financial, economic and social problems.

When Latvia expressed its wish to become a member of the European Union, the Jean Monnet Programme was of unique value in allowing Latvian scholars to begin a dialogue with their counterparts in different countries on common and fundamental issues for integration before accession to the European Union. In the lead-up to this accession and after becoming a member of the European Union, Latvia had shown positive and strong economic development until mid 2008 with the most impressive growth rate among the New Member States which was also the fastest in the European Union up to recently with a GDP growth more than 10% per year during 2004-2007 due to structural reforms, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and the availability of European Union structural funds. In recent years after the European Union accession Latvia has followed an ambitious reform strategy based on the twin

pillars of fiscal consolidation and structural reform. Overall, Latvia's high growth rates in GDP resulted from the first-generation reforms, which helped establish strong macroeconomic fundamentals. Convergence in indicators of standard of living was attributed to the second-generation reforms started with the prospects of European Union enlargement and continued since. Convergence was viewed in two ways: as the outcome of European Union integration, but also as a precondition to it, as each country had to reach a certain level of development before becoming a member of the European Union. Latvia's National Development Plan 2007-2013 put the emphasis on the development of knowledge-based industries to complement the traditional industries with such sectors as biotechnology, timber chemistry and pharmaceuticals, all of which require advanced technology, and highly qualified manpower.

Latvia has been generally following a set of monetary and fiscal policies in line with the requirements of the international financial institutions. Free convertibility and a liberal foreign exchange policy have secured competitiveness on the foreign exchange market. The national currency (LVL) was pegged to the SDR – Special Drawing Rights and changed to a Euro peg¹⁰⁸ after accession to the European Union. Exchange rate pegs in Latvia have provided currency stability and significant progress with disinflation. However, when the exchange rate is fixed, the burden of adjustment in response to external shocks, or shifts in relative competitiveness, falls elsewhere on the economy. To the extent that prices or wages are not flexible enough, the real economy has to adjust. As a result of comparatively stable and liberal economic policies, the Latvian economy had been successful in attracting foreign direct investments¹⁰⁹ which have had a positive influence on the rapid economic development. When the financial crisis hit, Latvia suffered an exceptional slump. GDP fell and continues to fall, unemployment has increased and exports to the European Union have decelerated. The current economic crisis in Latvia represents a major

¹⁰⁸ Since the beginning of 1994 when the Latvian currency was pegged to the SDR, the unit of accounting of the Internationally Monetary Fund (1 XDR = 0.7997 LVL). The Bank of Latvia on December 30, 2004, has fixed the peg rate of the lats and the euro at 1 EUR = 0.702804 LVL, which took effect on January 1, 2005 in line with the government approved plan for Latvia's preparation for full-fledged membership in the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). Bank of Latvia <http://www.bank.lv/eng/main/all/monpolicy/lv-euro/cmp1/>

¹⁰⁹ Foreign investors get national treatment, and they are free to engage in any activity, convert and transfer their earnings. Companies established before 1995 received 4-8 years tax holidays. Since 2001, large investments – both domestic and foreign – are eligible for corporate income tax holiday of up to 40 percent of the invested amount, in line with the limit set by EU competition rules. Companies manufacturing high-tech products enjoy a tax holiday of 30 percent of the investment; in the case of

threat for the further development of the country. Capital outflows are taking place and the country's economy is facing a new wave of emigration and "brain drain".

Currently the European economy in particular and European integration in general, is experiencing hard times. In the past similar downturned resulted in a period in European integration history that was called as "eurosclerosis", when protectionism tendencies dominated and integration was not developing further. There is a danger of the same tendency to be repeated and we should do our utmost to avoid this repetition.

In the coming years Latvia is facing economic downturn, through unstable financial sector situation, crash of real estate markets, fall in production and growing unemployment. However, international experience shows that economic growth has not always been a symptom of economic overheating. The so called "overheating" of the Latvian economy was and continues to be discussed by experts. Still, no forecasts have been made for such deep downturn as in Latvia and the other Baltic States are experiencing now. Overall, it is very difficult to produce serious statements in a situation of flux.

In the European Union pre-accession period different Jean Monnet grant schemes were launched in Latvia. This was a starting point for an interdisciplinary approach to education, theoretical and applied research on the themes related to European integration. The Programme was helpful in the development of human capital as an essential priority. One of the dimensions was training civil servants during the accession process. This took a long time to achieve and preserving human capital is essential.

We, in Latvia, consider of great importance to involve young people: masters and doctoral students, in discussions on issues, which are of vital importance to all of us. We often hold these discussions within the framework of the Jean Monnet programme, whose spirit encourages constructive and provocative discussions, exchange of views and experiences. At the same time, I strongly believe that presently, more than ever,

small and medium-sized enterprises it amounts to 20 percent. The corporate income tax rate has fallen gradually, reaching 15 percent in 2004. The withholding tax on dividends amounts to 10 percent.

stable economic and financial development, and the concept of a single market correspond to one of the key areas supported by the Jean Monnet Programme.

In this currently difficult period for Latvia, we teach our students that the economic crisis has a key feature- by definition it will be over and it is imperative to be prepared for a new upturn when it comes. To be ready means that we have to understand the following: despite the fact that economic recession has similarities in many European countries, the territorial distribution of the crisis varies greatly. In relation to this phenomenon there is a set of questions – whose answers are essential for our understanding on how to cope with the given situation: we have to assess the territorial distribution of the business cycles and suggest effective economic and regional policies.

Finally, is it also important to know if this is a crisis of the periphery for some territories or a periphery of the crisis? The consequences of the crisis could have long-lasting depressing effects, especially in the areas of human activities, which depend on state support such as health, education and research. There is also a serious risk that the lack of knowledge accumulation will further increase the pre-existing gap between industrially developed and less developed regions and countries in Europe. The gap could widen and the task of real convergence that was on the agenda, for most of the New Member states would not be reached neither in the short nor in the long run. The restoration of the human capital in the post crisis- reconstruction will take a long time and will be very costly.

The question is how much time and effort will be required to reconstruct the human capital once it has been dispersed?

It is necessary to reassess the role of the government and good governance. Solidarity is one of the fundamentals of the European integration, and very often this is the only opportunity to get economies of the Union out of the recession, to maintain financial stability and keep the broad benefits of the common market, such as, for example, free movement of labour.

A stable economy is essential for the European Union and in turns a key part of the European Union's role in the changing world. It is a known fact that crisis and scandals in the field of health care, for example, lead to increased European Community competence for the benefit of people. At the moment, there should be

growing confidence that education and research as areas of European Community competence will exit the crisis stronger than ever before, using the momentum of the 2009 European Union Year of innovation and creativity as a stepping-stone. There is an imperative need to maintain the long-term goals of the education and research responding to economic and social challenges. Support from the Cohesion, Regional and Social Funds is essential to foster deeper integration of national economies, which is the only way to create the potential for economic growth and human development throughout the European Union.

We must remember what we have achieved in Europe as the result of the enlargement of the Union, but we must also look at the future, and offer policies relevant for today, and tomorrow's Europeans.

VI. Tracing the History of the Jean Monnet Programme

Manuel Porto

Jacques-René Rabier

Marc Maresceau

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JEAN MONNET CONFERENCE 2010

Being just a moderator, I would however like to say some words on the person whose name is given to the activities considered in this Conference, as well as on the evolution of the European Communities and on the role of the Jean Monnet Action and of the Jean Monnet Programme.

Having been in his house, near Paris, in the past month of July, I had the opportunity of increasing my perception on the broad views of Jean Monnet, with a dream that into a great extent is being concretized; in a Europe which can not be confined to our borders.

It is sure that Jean Monnet and the other “founding fathers” of the European Communities, if they came again to “this world”, would be happy with the whole of the following developments; to the promotion of which the role of the Jean Monnet Action and Programme has been of the greatest importance.

In the first years of the Communities, in the fifties and in the sixties, one main purpose was to assure political stability in Europe, removing any situation which could open the way to a third world war. Economic development was itself a purpose to achieve, but

also to a great extent a way of assuring political stability and peace. And it is clear that nowadays no risk of a conflict between our countries exists.

When the Jean Monnet Action was introduced, twenty years ago, beginning in 1989, new challenges did already exist: requiring in all cases new areas of research and of teaching. It was the time of the discussion and of the approval of all the acts following the Single European Act: purposed to create a single market, since 1993. In the right views of Jacques Delors and of the Chiefs of State and Government, this was the way of removing the “Europessimism” and the “Eurosclerosis” of the seventies; being acknowledged that it was not possible to progress with the previous institutional framework, mainly with the requirement of unanimity to have the acts approved in the Council. The possibility of majority vote in most of the decisions was a prerequisite to the approval of the acts, removing the physical, technical and tax barriers which up to then were an obstacle to the “single market”. When this legislative process was in the way, with the initiatives covered by the Jean Monnet activities, it was possible to have deep research and a large diffusion of the new European framework.

Such research and such diffusion were afterwards of the greatest importance, supporting the steps taken in the following decades: leading to the creation of the “single” currency, the euro, or preparing the conditions for the enlargements of the present decade: enlargement to a much greater number of countries, most of them coming from quite different economic and political conditions.

Among the initiatives taken, having in mind the creation of the euro, I would like to highlight one, in Coimbra and Lisbon, gathering some of the most distinguished European experts, most of them Jean Monnet Professors, as well as some experts from other continents (North and South America, Africa and Asia): who expressed their insights on the European currency (the updated contributions were published in a 2002 edition, coordinated by Professor Paulo Pitta e Cunha and myself, of Almedina, Coimbra, with the title *The Euro and the World*).

Some of the research and other initiatives having in mind the so important challenges of the recent enlargements, were rightly mentioned in the first session of this Conference, on *20 years of transformation in Central and Eastern Europe: The Jean Monnet Action as a tool for EU accession*.

Nowadays, in the 21st century, it is however clear that one main challenge is the challenge of globalization.

For a long period Europe had a leading political role in the world, since the beginning of the 19th century also an economic main place in the world, when China and India began the way backwards: coming down from 42% of world GDP in 1820 to 6 % of the total in the beginning of the present century.

This loss of participation of the two big Asian countries led to a situation, in the second half of the 20th century, in which there was the so called “triade”: with Europe, the United States and Japan having the leading economic roles (the military power being shared between the United States and the Soviet Union).

The world map will however be quite different in the 21st century, with the role of the BRIC’s (Brazil, Russia, India and China), together with the role of other emerging countries. According to estimations made before the present crisis, perceptible mainly in Europe and in the United States (not so much felt or not felt in those countries), China and India will have in 2050 45% of world GDP.

It will be so, it is already so, with a close approximation of the structure of the economies. We have no more the traditional pattern of international trade, between countries in different degrees of development: the ‘triade’ countries exporting more sophisticated industrial products and services and the countries of the other continents exporting raw materials and less requiring manufacturing. Nowadays, for example China and India export high quality industrial products and services.

For Europe we have therefore new and difficult risks, but also new and increasing opportunities, in the emerging markets.

The worst attitude relatively to this new situation would be to have a protectionist policy. Even with the acknowledgement of the better arguments in favour of free trade and of free economy, according to the theory and according to the experience, we should always expect that in periods of difficulties protectionist temptations arise again.

I always remember a very well known book published when I was a student, the Gunnar Myrdal *Asian Drama*, showing, half a century ago, the difficulties without hope

of those Asian countries. It is nowadays clear that their present success is due, to a great extent, to their change of policies, from protectionism to openness, following the leaderships of Deng Xiaoping in China and of Manmohan Singh in India. And I usually conclude saying that if Europe committed the same mistake, “closing” the borders, within ten or twenty years somebody would write a book called *The European Drama...*

In a strategy of openness, we need to have good knowledge of the economic, social and political realities of the other countries of the world. But, together with this, it is in their interest and simultaneously in our interest that they have good knowledge of our realities. For example, the single market was indeed formed for our benefit, increasing our opportunities, leading, as expected (in the Chechini report), to higher growth, more employment and less inflation. But having a big market in Europe (and a single currency, now already in 16 countries), without stops while crossing of the borders and with common technical norms, to the same extent are also beneficial to the entrepreneurs of third countries, v.g. of the other continents. The lorries transporting their products are also not stopped at the borders and they have as well a market of 500 million people with the same specifications for their products.

Since the beginning, there have been also Jean Monnet activities in the other continents, for example Jean Monnet Chairs: in a framework in which an important role is being developed by the European Community Studies Associations (ECSAs), 64 in all the continents. I myself, during the four years in which I had the honour of being ECSA-World President, had the opportunity of trying to improve the initiatives and the cooperation (the dimension and the quality of the network is well expressed in the book that I published in 2006, *Who's Who in European Integration Studies*, Coimbra).

It is sure that it has been up to now, and will go on being a “success story”, the history of the Jean Monnet Action and of the Jean Monnet Programme, as will be well documented in this session, by the Colleagues who are going to take the floor: Jacques-René Rabier, former Director of the Cabinet of Jean Monnet, and two Jean Monnet Chair holders, Marc Maresceau and Carlos Molina del Pozo.

Jacques-René Rabier

Former Director of
the Cabinet of Mr Jean
Monnet; honorary Director
General of the European
Commission



TEMOIGNAGE DE JAKUES-RENE RABIER

Je ne saurais dissimuler mon émotion devant cette assemblée de professeurs et de chercheurs venus du monde entier et ici réunis – en toute indépendance – sous le nom de Jean Monnet.

Si j'ai accepté de participer à ce colloque, c'est sans doute parce que je suis l'un des derniers survivants parmi les collaborateurs de Jean Monnet (1888-1979) et parce que j'ai été associé, dès le début de cette collaboration, avec les encouragements de Monnet, à l'action de la Communauté européenne naissante dans le monde universitaire, avant même l'invention des Chaires « Jean Monnet », *a fortiori* de l'Action et du Programme qui portent ce nom.

Vous pouvez me considérer, au choix, comme un « eurodinosaure » ou un « europatriarche ». Je préfère toutefois cette seconde appellation, car il me souvient du mot de Blaise Pascal :

« La longueur de la vie des patriarches, au lieu de faire que les histoire des choses passées se perdissent, servait au contraire à les préserver ».

Je n'ai ni le temps ni la présomption de donner ici un cours d'histoire, mais je voudrais profiter de l'occasion qui m'est offerte pour rappeler quelques antécédents de ce qui a pris forme, du vivant de Jean Monnet, de l'action de la Communauté européenne dans le domaine universitaire, c'est-à-dire, plus précisément, dans le domaine de la recherche et de l'enseignement sur « l'intégration européenne ».

« *Communauté européenne* », « *intégration européenne* », notons, au passage, qu'il s'agit d'une époque où l'on n'avait pas peur des mots. La Déclaration Schuman du 9 mai 1950, inspirée par Jean Monnet, était encore présente dans l'esprit qui animait les institutions européennes...

A défaut de « lettres de créance » pour livrer mon témoignage, je rappellerai que j'ai commencé à travailler avec Jean Monnet dès 1946, au Commissariat général du Plan, à Paris, puis qu'il m'a appelé auprès de lui à la Haute Autorité de la Communauté du Charbon et de l'Acier, au début de 1953, à Luxembourg, où je suis resté jusqu'à l'automne 1960, pour rejoindre alors Bruxelles et y créer le Service d'Information commun aux trois « Communautés », service devenu ultérieurement direction générale, que je quittai en 1973 pour créer l'Eurobaromètre. (Cela est une autre histoire...).

Jean Monnet et l'Université

Peut-être parce qu'il n'était pas lui-même passé par l'Université, puisque dès l'âge de 18 ans, il était entré dans les affaires de son père, négociant en cognac, Monnet m'a soutenu dès le début de la C.E.C.A. dans mes premières initiatives pour informer aussi complètement que possible tous les milieux des Etats membres – et même de pays non-membres, voire extérieurs à l'Europe.

Il ne s'agissait pas seulement d'informer sur les aspects socio-économiques de la C.E.C.A., mais aussi – je pèse mes mots – sur le grand projet politique lancé, cinq ans après la fin de la Seconde guerre mondiale, par les gouvernements de six pays d'Europe continentale. Je peux dire que, sans négliger les milieux politiques, les dirigeants économiques et, bien sûr, les journalistes, deux milieux mobilisaient nos efforts d'information : le monde syndical, (alors profondément divisé dans plusieurs pays), et le monde universitaire, à tous les niveaux (1). Dès 1956, la Haute Autorité de la C.E.C.A. avait créé des Bourses de Recherche – en coopération avec le Conseil de l'Europe. L'une de ces bourses fut attribuée par le jury à un jeune étudiant portugais qui a fait depuis lors un parcours remarquable, dans les institutions de son pays, puis de l'Europe : José Manuel Barroso...

Le tournant des années 1958-60

Née dès les premières années de la C.E.C.A., la politique d'information des milieux universitaires se développa rapidement, à partir de 1958, avec l'entrée en fonction des institutions issues des Traités de Rome. La présidence de la Commission économique européenne par le Professeur Walter Hallstein ne fut pas étrangère à cet essor, mais déjà, dans le Cinquième Rapport général de la Haute Autorité de la C.E.C.A. (avril 1957), on trouve mention de cette action européenne dans les milieux universitaires :

« Au niveau de l'enseignement supérieur, l'action consiste en une aide technique aux professeurs et étudiants qui cherchent à approfondir les problèmes institutionnels, économiques et sociaux de la Communauté pour préparer des cours, thèses ou exposés de séminaires ».

En avril 1958, un jeune journaliste, qui fera ultérieurement une belle carrière dans les institutions européennes : Paul Collowald, est recruté par la Haute Autorité pour suivre et développer plus particulièrement les activités de l'information universitaire. A la même époque, les présidents des trois Exécutifs européens créent, conjointement avec Jean Monnet , un « Institut de la Communauté européenne pour les études universitaires », association de droit privé dont l'article 2 des statuts précise que son but est « *d'encourager et d'appuyer dans les universités et autres instituts d'un niveau équivalent, spécialement en Europe, l'étude scientifique des problèmes à long terme posés par l'intégration européenne et la formation d'hommes compétents en ces matières* » (2).

(1) Puis-je rappeler ici que la première recherche historique sur « La Genèse du Plan Schuman » a été confiée, à mon initiative, au Professeur Pierre Gerbet (Science Po, Paris), qui vient de mourir tout récemment ? Cette étude a été publiée, avec un certain retard, dans la Revue française de Science politique (1956) et reprise ultérieurement dans la collection des « Cahiers rouges » de la Fondation Jean Monnet pour l'Europe, de Lausanne (1962).

(2) L'histoire de cet institut reste à faire.

Cet institut, présidé par Max Kohnstamm, ancien secrétaire de la Haute Autorité et futur président de l'Institut universitaire européen de Florence, est installé à Bruxelles.

Une étroite coopération s'établit avec le Service d'information dont j'ai la direction. Ce Service crée, la même année, 1958, un Prix des Communautés européennes pour les thèses de doctorat.

Le développement de ces activités conduit, en 1960, le Service commun de Presse et d'Information, désormais organisé à Bruxelles, à créer une Division « Information universitaire, Jeunesse et Education des adultes », confiée à un spécialiste de ces problèmes, qui est aussi un « Européen » de la première heure, puisque militant du rapprochement franco-allemand (et grand mutilé de guerre). Cet homme -- décédé depuis plusieurs années -- il n'est que justice de rappeler son nom : Jean Moreau. Il fut bientôt assisté, à mesure que se développaient les initiatives des institutions, ainsi que les réponses et les demandes des milieux intéressés, par quelques collaboratrices -- heureusement toujours vivantes et disposées à témoigner -- parmi lesquelles je vois dans cette salle Jacqueline Lastenouse, qui aurait pu vous parler beaucoup mieux que moi de l' « Action Jean Monnet », des premières « Chaires Jean Monnet », des premiers réseaux de « Professeurs Jean Monnet »...

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Soucieux de me limiter à la période au cours de laquelle j'ai été plus particulièrement en charge des premières initiatives des Institutions européennes dans le domaine des activités universitaires, j'arrêterai ici mon témoignage, puisque c'est plus tard, en 1988-89, que ce qui deviendra l' « Action Jean Monnet », puis le « Programme Jean Monnet », ont pris naissance.

Il est parfois utile de rappeler ce que furent les commencements, ne serait-ce que pour mieux apprécier les développements ultérieurs -- ceux qui sont acquis et ceux qui devraient suivre... Grâce à vous !

Marc Maresceau

Jean Monnet Chair at the University of Ghent; former President of the European Community Studies Association-World



TRACING THE HISTORY OF THE JEAN MONNET PROGRAMME

I feel a bit uneasy, and frankly speaking also a bit reluctant, to take the floor on the history of the Jean Monnet Programme. There are so many more qualified speakers on this topic, also present in this auditorium. It gives me a somewhat surreal feeling to talk to you in the presence of people like Mrs. Jacqueline Lastenousse, Mrs. Belén Bernaldo de Quiros and others, who were or are still today all main actors in the Jean Monnet Project itself.

My own experience with the Jean Monnet Project is much more limited and is basically twofold. First, as a humble academic servant, working full-time in the field of European integration, I benefited enormously from the various Jean Monnet possibilities. I can only be extremely grateful to the Jean Monnet Project: without this project my academic life and that of many of my colleagues would no doubt have been considerably different.

But that is certainly not the reason why I was asked to intervene here this afternoon. In the course of 1999, I became European Community Studies Association President and was to remain at the head of European Community Studies Association till the end of 2002. It just happened that these 2½ years and those following thereafter would prove so crucial for the Jean Monnet Project, as a whole. European Community Studies Association, regrouping the national associations for the study of European integration, and the Jean Monnet Project initiative were indeed closely interconnected from the very beginning and there was almost an umbilical cord relationship between the two. I will come back to this specific characteristic of the Jean Monnet Project later in my presentation and will also say a word on how this has been affected by the

recent changes in the Jean Monnet rules. More importantly, 1999 was really a very unusual year in the history of the Community and that of the European Commission. The Commission had just gone through a real ordeal and there seemed to be uncertainty about everything. Moreover, all this coincided with big institutional movements inside the Commission, combined with an almost complete change of staff in the Directorate General responsible for the Jean Monnet Project. Apart from these profound institutional changes and restructuring in staff, I also became rather quickly alarmed by some unexpected signals indicating that European Community Studies Association and even the Jean Monnet Project were perhaps in danger. Would the 10th anniversary of the Jean Monnet Project also be the beginning of its own end? I must confess that I have never really been able to answer the question properly whether these existential fears were genuine and justified, but, whatever it might have been, the very fact that they arose was more than sufficient grounds to take them seriously. It was clear to me that the existing and coming challenges would need new responses.

In order to understand the real roots of what later became the Jean Monnet Programme, one has to go back to the origins of the European Economic Community itself. After the establishment of the European Economic Community, many universities in the original six Members States rapidly realised that the functioning of the European Economic Community constituted a serious challenge, implying working in depth on the curriculum in various faculties, new orientations in human resources policy, new investments in equipment and library, etc. It was obvious that all this would need time and could not be achieved overnight.

The European Commission, for its part, had established in 1960 a Press and Information Service. A division called "Information universitaire" would play a key role in the establishment of relationships with the academic world in the Member States of the Community. Academic potential was indeed available or could be made available and, as just mentioned, from the academic world there was genuine readiness, and often eagerness, to establish certain forms of cooperation with the Commission. Of course, this would be a gradual process, making progress through step-by-step initiatives.

We may consider ourselves to have been particularly privileged by the fact that inside the European Commission, a number of exceptional people with a true vision simply happened to be there at the right moment and on the right place. In the first place mention must be made of M. Emile Noël, the Commission's "secrétaire exécutif" from 1958 who, after the merging of the executive bodies of the European Communities, became the Commission's first Secretary General and remained in that position till 1987. Mr. Noël understood very well the sensitivities in the European academic world and strongly stimulated the initiatives for partnership between the Commission and universities. In particular for the activities of the "Information universitaire", his support was crucial and, in more general terms, one may say that this benediction from the top has contributed substantially to creating an appropriate atmosphere for co-operation with the universities.

But it is not enough to have people at the top with a vision, it is also necessary to have people with vision and enthusiasm on the ground. I think nobody will contradict me when I say that the Commission's human face, symbolising university cooperation on European integration has, for a very long time, been that of Madame Jacqueline Lastenouse. It is impossible – as a matter of fact, it would simply be preposterous – to retrace the history of the Jean Monnet Project without recalling what Mme Lastenouse has done for the Programme, even if this can only be done here in a very fragmentary way. She had (and still has) not only an incredible and rare capacity to bring people together and stimulate academics to take initiatives but her patience coupled with her necessary perseverance were legendary. I would like to stress that well before the launch of the Jean Monnet Action, many important initiatives had already been developed in which Jacqueline had played a pivotal role. I just want to enumerate a few of them, without going into details: the establishment of an inventory on PhD and post-doctoral university research on European integration; the introduction of a fellowship programme for research on European integration; the setting up of a programme of subsidies for publication of PhDs on European integration and an Award of the European Communities for PhD excellence; the creation of a programme for financing study visits of professors and students to the EC institutions; providing support for post-graduate programmes (3rd cycle) on European integration and for

colloquia and conferences on European integration and cooperation; the establishment of European Documentation Centres (EDCs) at selected universities¹¹⁰.

If I want to recall all this, it is to make us realise that when the Action Jean Monnet was formally launched in 1989, there was fertile ground in which European Community Studies could prosper. But it is also true that the need for reinforced and perhaps more structured initiatives, that is to say a real “Action”, became more compelling over the years. There was not only the growing complexity of the Community activities, but also the possibility of further enlargement of the Community. It is interesting to note that it is the initiative for the completion of the Internal Market which seems to have acted as a catalyst for the launching of the Jean Monnet Action. Indeed, new challenges related to the completion of the Internal Market – how could it be else? -, led necessarily to a rapidly increasing demand for European expertise in law, economics and political science. In other words, the Action Jean Monnet responded to a pressing need in the academic world for more competence and know how. And, it may also be said, this was a message which could easily be understood at the political level.

However, it would be wrong to see the Jean Monnet Action, as it was launched in 1989, merely as a kind of an educational component of the Internal Market. Of course, the educational dimension of the Jean Monnet Action and later Jean Monnet Programme was and is terribly important, but I think that the human networking, which participation in the project naturally entails, is at least as important. A Jean Monnet Project is never a purely solo affair. Many of these Jean Monnet contacts have led to conferences, workshops, joint initiatives, visiting chairs, joint publications, etc., in short, to establishing “human contacts”. It is particularly difficult to quantify the impact of the human touch of the Jean Monnet Project, but it is something which I personally consider as irreplaceable and invaluable.

In this brief intervention on the history of the Jean Monnet Project, a few words should be said on the actual founding of the Jean Monnet Action itself. This brings us a strange mixture of, on the one hand, extremely solid and efficient decision-making and on the other hand, unexpected anecdotes. Maybe, you will allow me to recall first one of these anecdotes which I learned from Mme Lastenouse.

¹¹⁰ For more details on this pioneering period, see J. Lastenouse, “La Commission européenne et l’étude de l’intégration européenne dans les Universités”, in *Ceci n’est pas un juriste... Liber Amicorum*

In May 1988, M. Santarelli became Director General ad interim of the Directorate General Information, Communication and Culture. In these early days of his new occupation, he decides to make a little tour of his DG and enters into the office of Mme Lastenouse. Mme Lastenouse had already for a long time been busy thinking about how to create “European chairs”, a bit inspired from what had been going on within United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization with the so-called “UNESCO chairs”. One of the main concerns was to enhance the “visibility” of those professors, working in various fields of Community activity, who, often had to overcome all kinds of obstacles at their own institutions. In a matter of days the approval for this new initiative was given and very rapidly contacts following a double-track were established. First, the Liaison Committee of the European Rectors’ Conference was approached, in order to test the feasibility of the project within the universities. At the time, the Committee included very strong personalities, such as, among others, Prof. De Schutter of the University of Brussels (VUB) and Prof. Cusin (Lyon II), who realised, better than anybody else, the urgent need for a new framework for cooperation and who understood the importance of the new initiative for the academic world. Secondly, the national associations for the study of European integration were contacted -after all, they were the ones with the expertise in the Member States. The combination of the input of the expert professors and of the Rectors brought a rare momentum for action and it goes without saying that all this has been tremendously helpful to create a solid basis for the Jean Monnet Action. In a true cooperative spirit, the modalities for the Chairs, Courses, Modules, etc. could in an efficient and smooth manner be worked out.

On 16 June 1989, the responsible Commissioner, Mr. Dondelinger, was able to present the draft Communication on the Jean Monnet Action and twelve days later, on 28 June 1989, the draft was already approved by the Commission. This Communication is a most interesting document¹¹¹. It explains how the dialogue had been taking place between the service “Information universitaire” of the Commission and the Committee of Rectors and the national expert associations. It also refers to the financial difficulties “qui freinent les réalisations en milieu universitaire” but time was ripe, it seemed, for a new initiative to support the study of Europe in the

Bart De Schutter, Brussels, VUB Press, 2003, pp. 207-221.

¹¹¹ SEC (89) 1028/2.

universities of the Member States. The Jean Monnet Action would allow a much more systematic approach and would offer a more targeted orientation of the Commission's interventions than had been possible in the past. The Jean Monnet Action was conceived as a pilot action and based – I quote again from the original French text – « sur le principe d'un soutien sous forme de subventions pendant une période de démarrage, les coûts de ces enseignements étant ensuite inscrits aux budgets des universités bénéficiaires ». The day after the Commission had adopted the Communication, that is on 29 June 1989, a very well-timed conference was organised in Brussels on “La place de l'Europe dans les programmes universitaires” with the main interlocutors present: the Commission, including even its President, Mr. Jacques Delors, European Community Studies Association, regrouping the national associations of professors specialised in EC studies, and the Liaison Committee of Rectors¹¹². On the same day the Commission also released a press communiqué on the Action Jean Monnet emphasising that *inter alia* funding for courses, called “European chairs”, would be provided¹¹³. The follow-up to the story can easily be summarised: in December 1989 an *Invitation to demonstrate interest* aimed at developing “Europe in university programmes” was published in the *Official Journal of the European Communities*¹¹⁴. In the call, which was addressed to the universities, the expression “Jean Monnet Project” was used for the first time. Clearly, with the choice of the name “Jean Monnet”, referring to one of the greatest founding fathers of the European integration process, the new initiative was given a special, symbolic significance and was intended to cover the various facets of the ongoing European integration and cooperation. Finally, the 1989 December Call also clearly acknowledged the specific role of the European University Council composed of members of European Community Studies Association Europe and representatives of the Rector's Liaison Committee. It was explicitly stated that it was the task of the University Council to advise the Commission in the selection process.

It is, of course, impossible to retrace the history of the Jean Monnet Project since 1990 in detail here but one thing will rapidly become clear to any observer: the Jean Monnet Action, later becoming the Jean Monnet Programme, has been a tremendous

¹¹² For an account of this Conference, see *Nouvelles universitaires européennes – European University News*, 1989, no. 164. In his conclusions, the Commission President clearly expressed his support for the initiative and emphasised that “l'absence d'un travail intellectuel suffisant est un obstacle à la bonne conduite de la construction européenne”.

¹¹³ See “Action Jean Monnet: une action de la Commission pour stimuler l'enseignement sur l'intégration européenne dans les universités”, IP/89/59, 29 June 1989.

¹¹⁴ *OJ*, 1989, C 308/13.

success. The reasons for this, as was already mentioned, are to be found in the first place in the fact that the initiative responded to a genuine need in the academic world. But, of course there is more. It offered a variety of possibilities allowing potential applicants to apply for a project corresponding with their concrete wishes and expectations. I will not further develop this point but there is something else I would like to emphasise instead. It has to do with how the project has been managed, allowing the academic community to demonstrate an ever growing interest. This was not necessarily something taken for granted since the double “conditionality” imposed on beneficiaries, could have deterred them from applying for projects. First, beneficiaries of a project had to commit themselves to continue the project for a number of years beyond the period co-financed by the Commission. The first call imposed an obligation “to continue to offer European integration studies for a further period of at least four years”. The underlying idea of this requirement in the early phase of the Jean Monnet Project was clear: a project, if granted, was to have a lasting effect and “to stabilise” new curricula which had been introduced as a consequence of the project. Later, in 2001, the four years requirement was reduced to two years and, if my information is correct, in the 2010 call for proposals, this requirement may even well disappear all together. Practice seems to show that withdrawal from or suspension of a Jean Monnet Project is such an exceptional occurrence that it is unnecessary to maintain this as a formal condition in the future. Second, the Commission imposed on the recipients of a project the obligation to provide 25% own financing. Certainly, the rationale behind this requirement can easily be understood: an applicant university had to show commitment to the project it had submitted to the Commission and such commitment could, at least in part, be demonstrated through the applicant’s own input in the project.

However, such an obligation – no matter how justified it might at first sight appear – could also have had a serious discouraging effect and virtually have made it impossible for many universities to apply for Jean Monnet funding. Fortunately, after some hesitation, the Commission has accepted that “own resources” could also be provided through the beneficiaries’ own “staff costs” for the management and implementation of the project and not necessarily through an additional financial input¹¹⁵. This interpretation of the concept “own resources” in the framework of the

¹¹⁵ For more information on the concept “staff costs”, as it is currently being applied, see European Commission, Education and Culture DG, *Lifelong Learning Programme (LLP). Guide 2009*, pp. 45-46.

Jean Monnet Programme which, I think, was followed as from 2001, implied that the Commission accepted “contributions in kind”, something which had been one of the “big issues” on my desk as European Community Studies Association’ President. It must be said that this interpretation was in harmony with the practice followed by the Commission in other actions and programmes. In other words, it is fair to say that, contrary to what some had expected, the imposition of “own resources” as a condition for obtaining a project, has not created an insurmountable condition for potential applicants. An inventory of the Jean Monnet operation can quickly confirm this and makes an impressive picture: since the launching of the Action more than 10,000 applications for Jean Monnet support have been submitted, the Jean Monnet Programme has provided support for more than 3500 projects; around 146 Centres of Excellence have been recognised, 839 Chairs granted and more than 2060 Modules accepted. It should also be noted that initially the Jean Monnet Project only applied to applications emanating from the Member States of the Community. A first extension to Poland and Hungary took place in 1993: that is even before these countries had applied for European Union membership. In 1997 the Jean Monnet Programme was also made applicable to applications from higher education institutions in the Czech Republic but, of course, the most substantial extension came in 2001 when the Programme was made available world-wide. In other words, the Jean Monnet Project had, gradually but surely, become the main tool at European level to stimulate academic excellence in the field of the study of European integration.

Meanwhile also, the scope of the Programme was considerably enlarged through the creation of “Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence” (JMCE) next to the “classical” chairs and modules. But an important institutional link remained between the Jean Monnet Chair and the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence since only higher education institutions already having such a chair were eligible for a Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence and, moreover, a Jean Monnet chair holder had to assume academic responsibility for the Centre. The first Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence recognition was attributed in 1997. Under this label, institutes specialising in European integration studies were in a position to pool their excellence in teaching and research and add a true European dimension to their activities. Another, more recent, Jean Monnet initiative needs special mentioning. A specific high-level forum for dialogue and reflection on important current European issues, called “Jean Monnet Conferences”, has been created. The first Jean Monnet Conference was organised in 2002 on the

Intercultural Dialogue and since then a great variety of topics such as Gender Equality, Europe's challenges in a globalised world, the Lisbon Treaty, Sustainable Development, the European Union and the Balkans, have been subject of such meetings. Many Jean Monnet professors have contributed to one or more of these events and even today's gathering has been organised within this framework. One of the main characteristics of these conferences is the unique mix between political decision-making and academic expertise. The potential impact of this form of Jean Monnet activity on policy-making should not be underestimated. The dissemination of know how of European integration and continuous in-depth academic reflection on European integration and cooperation are an evident necessity for the consolidation and development of the European project itself.

However, it is not all gold that glitters and there is always a potential danger that initiatives such as Jean Monnet Project become the victim of their own success. But the most serious danger the project has been facing is the long term lack of a solid financial and legal framework. In order to illustrate this point, I need again to return to 1999 and its immediate aftermath. As I already said before, in that period, the project, which had been based on an enormous dose of goodwill from people inside the Commission and from the European academic community, increasingly came under pressure. A solution had to be found to bring stability and more transparency. Fortunately, at the top of the Directorate General for Education and Culture, a sensitive ear was open to listening to these concerns and the then new Director General Mr. Nikolaus van der Paeu showed a sense of understanding of this. One of the Director General's main concerns was to bring the Jean Monnet Project and the Budget Line A 3022 – used for actions conducted by European study and research centres and by the national European Community Studies Associations – under one and the same call for proposals. I must confess that to many of us in the academic world, and to me in particular, the technical, administrative and legal effects of such an orientation remained in the dark somehow and it was obvious that adequate information would need to be provided to potential applicants of Jean Monnet Projects. Be that as it may, and to make a complicated story short, one can say that essentially two different moves have proved to be crucial, not only to consolidate but above all to create a sound financial and legal framework for the Jean Monnet Project. Thanks to a co-decision legislative initiative, thus also involving the European Parliament, a crucial step was taken with Decision 791/2004/EC of the European Parliament and the

Council of 21 April 2004. This Decision establishes a Community action programme in the field of education and training “to support bodies and their activities which seek to extend and deepen knowledge of the building of Europe or to contribute to the achievement of the common policy objectives in the field of education and training, both inside and outside the Community”¹¹⁶. Personally, I think it was a good thing that Parliament also became institutionally involved in such an important matter as the definition of the legal framework of the Jean Monnet Project. But Decision 1720/2006/EC of the European Parliament and Council of 15 November 2006 is, without doubt, the most decisive legal document in this respect¹¹⁷. This Decision indeed formally incorporates the Jean Monnet Project in the *Action Programme for Lifelong Learning*¹¹⁸ and creates a basis for financial support for a more substantial programme. The reasons for this approach are among others the effectiveness and added value of the European cooperation programmes, including of course the Jean Monnet Programme¹¹⁹. Moreover, the Executive Agency for Education, Audiovisual & Culture (EACEA) took charge of the practical management of the Programme. It would be fascinating to try to analyse in detail all the practical and legal ramifications of these moves incorporating the Jean Monnet Programme in an Integrated Programme for education and training, but you do not have to be afraid, I have not the time to do that here¹²⁰. I only want to say this: this decision, which is based on Articles 149(4) and 150 EC Treaty, the provisions on education and vocational training, is, in my opinion, after the one on the setting up of the Project itself, the most important landmark in the development of the Programme. It clearly spells out who has access to the Programme, the Programme objectives and the various actions covered. It is interesting to note in this respect that, besides the various types of Jean Monnet projects in the Member States and third States, special provision is also made for direct support by the Commission of certain institutions whose mission it is to promote programmes of general European interest, such as, for example, the College of Europe; the European University Institute, Florence; European Institute of Public Administration, Maastricht or European Law Academy, Trier.

¹¹⁶ OJ, 2004, L 138/31.

¹¹⁷ OJ, 2006, L 327/45.

¹¹⁸ The objective of the lifelong Learning Programme was to incorporate the ensemble of existing educational and training programmes in one “Integrated Programme for education and training”.

¹¹⁹ See Proposal for a Decision of the European Parliament and of the Council establishing an integrated action programme in the field of lifelong learning, COM (2004) 474 final, p. 3.

¹²⁰ For more information on the Integrated Programme for education and training, see Commission Communication, The new generation of Community education and training programmes after 2006, COM (2004) 156 final of 9 March 2004.

One has not to be a legal expert to understand the enormous importance of these Decisions, in particular the one of 2006. Indeed, they established the financial and legal framework of the Jean Monnet Programme in an unequivocal way¹²¹. The feeling of uncertainty about the legal basis which for years had persecuted anyone who had tried to look into this matter was now finally something that could be consigned to the past. Certainly, on the one hand, the new rules also meant more rigidity and maybe less spontaneity in project formulation and project implementation. But perhaps most seriously of all, the new Jean Monnet selection rules also affected the place of the European University Council in the project as a whole. I am well aware that some aspects of the changes were perceived by some of us as negative. On the other hand, however, they created at last stability and above all greater legal certainty and a much better financial perspective, all objectives that had been perceived as almost unattainable targets previously. A solid financial and legal framework is indeed vital if we want our Jean Monnet Programme to survive and develop further. It is precisely at this point that I would like to pay a special and very sincere tribute to Mrs. Belen Bernaldo de Quiros. When, in 2000, Mme Bernaldo de Quiros became responsible for Jean Monnet, she immediately realised that this was the crux of the matter and that there was a compelling need for adjustments in the light of the reforms that were taking place. This was a most delicate operation at that time and various steps had to be taken in a gradual and synchronised manner but she managed that in a truly exemplary way. And, last but not least, all this needed approval at all the different levels, including, of course, as was mentioned before, the very top of the administration and in the very last resort, that of the Director General and the Commissioner responsible for the Project. I can only say that without the stubborn efforts of Mrs Bernaldo de Quiros and the unfailing commitment of my European Community Studies Association successors, Prof. Papisca, Prof. Porto and now Prof. Banús, we would not be standing today where we stand now and we would probably not have been able to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Jean Monnet Programme.

¹²¹ Also the Commission had at various occasions drawn attention to the fact that many of the operations developed in the field of education and training, financed under a variety of headings of the general budget of the EU, had in fact “been carried out without any legal basis”, see, for example, Proposal for a European Parliament and Council Decision establishing a Community action programme to promote bodies active at European level and support specific activities in the field of education and training, Explanatory Memorandum, COM (2003) 273 final, p. 3.

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Preliminar

Querido Presidente y amigo, Prof. Lopes Porto, respetado Jefe de Gabinete de Jean Monnet, Sr. Jacques-René Rabier, apreciado colega y compañero de tantas vivencias conjuntas, Prof. Marescau, estimados amigos y amigas, Profesores Jean Monnet de las diferentes áreas de conocimiento que desarrolláis vuestras respectivas actividades docentes e investigadoras en Universidades de todo el mundo, señoras y señores participantes en esta Conferencia Jean Monnet conmemorativa del veinte aniversario de la Acción Jean Monnet, sean mis primeras palabras de recuerdo y de reconocimiento a toda una época, la primera época, que estuvo orientada, y así dirigió sus pasos, vehementemente aunque con el necesario sosiego, hacia la creación y puesta en funcionamiento de la Acción Jean Monnet, cuyos primeros veinte años de excelente desarrollo estamos celebrando en estos días.

Comentaba esta mañana con nuestro compañero, el ex Presidente del Parlamento Europeo y actual Presidente del Consejo Universitario para la Acción Jean Monnet, José María Gil Robles y Gil Delgado, cómo contabilizar las ocasiones en las que en esta Conferencia iba a mencionarse en el hemicycle donde celebramos las sesiones el nombre de Jacqueline Lastenouse. La verdad, concluíamos, serían incontables dado el esfuerzo y la intensidad vocacional de su actividad al lograr poner en marcha este proyecto que significó la Acción Jean Monnet.

Así pues, yo también tengo la satisfacción ahora de poder mencionar su nombre con toda rotundidad, por el afecto y la amistad que le profesó desde 1977, año en que tuve la suerte de conocerla, trabajando - como siempre la recordaré - y siendo yo un joven estudiante becado por mi país en el Colegio de Europa en Brujas. Vaya por delante, y prometo no volver a mencionar la circunstancia objetiva de mi relación personal con nuestra aclamada amiga la Sra. Lastenouse, mi recuerdo nostálgico de todos aquellos años preparatorios del diseño de lo que iba a ser la adopción y ejercicio de la Acción Jean Monnet, al tiempo mismo de mi reconocimiento sin tapujos a la encomiable y perseverante labor llevada a cabo por aquella, funcionaria de la Comisión, menuda de aspecto y presencia, pero dotada de unas inmensas cualidades profesionales y de una gran visión que hacía posible apostar por los objetivos que presentaba ante la comunidad académica y científica europea de los años ochenta. Un beso muy fuerte de parte de todos mis compañeros y mío propio, en agradecimiento infinito y sincero por todo el trabajo bien hecho que nos dejaste.

Pero, antes me refería a esa primera época, de la que también se me vienen otros nombres importantes a la cabeza. Se trataba de funcionarios así como de profesores, que en la década de los ochenta, vertieron todo o gran parte de su actividad en acercar la función docente e investigadora a la construcción europea. Había que aproximar la Academia a las instituciones comunitarias y para ello era preciso buscar las fórmulas que posibilitaran tan necesario acercamiento. A esa trascendental labor se unieron los esfuerzos de quien fuera, al tiempo que Jacqueline Lastenouse, gran impulsor y diseñador de la Acción Jean Monnet, antiguo Secretario General de la Comisión Europea y primer Presidente del Consejo Universitario Europeo para la Acción Jean Monnet, nuestro malogrado amigo y siempre recordado con gran respeto y cariño, Emile Noël, con el llevado a cabo por los Profesores Antonio Papista, Jacques Bourrinet, Malcolm Anderson, H. Rasmusen, Gautron, Stefanou, Herbk, Du Moulin, Muller Graft, y, probablemente, algunos otros que, en este momento, no acierto a recordar, por lo que ruego desde ya que sepan disculparme.

De la parte funcional he de hacer mención expresa también de Beatrice Miege, Luciano di Fonzo y, en general, de todos los jóvenes contratados, expertos y becarios que componían la oficina inicial para la puesta en marcha de la Acción Jean Monnet. Su profesionalidad y creencia en el proyecto hicieron realidad la puesta en

funcionamiento del mismo. Desde aquí, mi recuerdo entrañable y mi agradecimiento siempre.

Por otro lado, hay que señalar el hecho de que, lo que bien se empieza, mejor ha de continuarse. Y eso ha sido lo que ha ocurrido en nuestro caso. Por ello, además de la primera época, es preciso reseñar la época actual y que tiene su inicio con la jubilación de la Sra. Lastenouse y la llegada de otra gran funcionaria, Belén Bernardo de Quirós, que pese a su juventud aportaba ya una importante experiencia profesional, y vino a impulsar y reestructurar todo el andamiaje que era en el año 2000 la Acción Jean Monnet, para construir un sólido edificio, completo en su arquitectura exterior e interior y que propone como resultados más vistosos, la consolidación y transformación de la Acción en un esencial Programa Jean Monnet a escala de la Unión Europea, el cual presagia muy buenos augurios para su desarrollo futuro y permitirá ofrecer a sus destinatarios en todo el mundo, un instrumento sólido y eficaz que procurará, sin duda, contribuir de manera decisiva al ideario europeísta y disponer de los medios necesarios para que los ciudadanos participen de forma directa en el logro del objetivo de “más Europa”.

Toda esta excepcional labor, capitaneada por nuestra amiga Belén Bernardo de Quirós, cuenta con el apoyo de Yuri Devuyt y el resto de la Oficina que, en la sombra y con un enorme esfuerzo, llevan a cabo con gran éxito su encomiable trabajo. Hay que decir que no son muchos, aunque sí parece que lo fuesen, dado lo vasto de las tareas que realizan y lo sorprendente de los resultados que se van alcanzando y consolidando. A todas y todos, nuestro reconocimiento, apoyo en lo que modestamente podamos, y agradecimiento por sus desvelos en pro de un mejor y más completo Programa Jean Monnet de cara al futuro.

Las enseñanzas y la investigación sobre las comunidades europeas en los países recién llegados: el caso de España

Pero, hemos de regresar a los años pasados puesto que, la tarea que se me ha encomendado consiste, básicamente, en rememorar un poco la historia y los inicios de la Acción Jean Monnet para recuerdo nostálgico de algunos de nosotros y para conocimiento de los más jóvenes que, quizás, no vivieron aquellos tiempos, ya algo

lejanos, en los que, pensando en el futuro se diseñaba el presente, no sin grandes dificultades.

Recuerdo en primera persona y como si hiciera un par de años o tres que sucedió, es decir, con una aproximación nostálgica del tiempo ya transcurrido, como fueron, en la mayoría de los casos, los Centros de Documentación Europea creados en las distintas Universidades europeas, los instrumentos más eficaces y adecuados que, la Comisión Europea, ponía al alcance de los profesores de cada país para que pudiésemos, de manera sencilla, acercarnos y estudiar la realidad comunitaria, siendo ello posible por el carácter pluridisciplinar de la información que desde dichos Centros se generaba y que venía proporcionada, de modo gratuito a las Universidades que ostentaban el estatus de Centro de Documentación Europea., por la Comisión Europea directamente, o mejor dicho, a través del Servicio de Publicaciones de las Comunidades Europeas ubicado en Luxemburgo.

Por tanto, puede decirse con rotundidad que, al menos en los países que fuimos candidatos a finales de los años setenta y hasta mediada la década de los ochenta, para pasar entonces a miembros de pleno derecho de las Comunidades Europeas, lo que significa que en los finales de los ochenta éramos países recién llegados a la Europa comunitaria, la dotación a nuestras Universidades de Centros de Documentación Europea y su puesta en marcha supuso un importante y, yo diría, definitivo, empujón a la información y el conocimiento de la construcción europea en un amplio espectro, que no se reducía únicamente al ámbito universitario, sino que lo excedía trascendiendo al propio del mundo empresarial, sindical, profesional y ciudadano en general. Los Centros de Documentación Europea constituyeron un punto de apoyo esencial en aquéllos años iniciales.

Yo podría aportar ahora la experiencia de mi caso concreto en la Universidad de Alcalá (Madrid), aunque no voy a hacerlo para no aburrirlos. Déjenme únicamente que mencione dos nombres, sin la ayuda, confianza y amistad de los cuales no hubiese sido posible la creación del Centro de Documentación Europea en la Universidad de Alcalá y, a partir del inicio de su funcionamiento, de manera prácticamente paralela en el tiempo, el arranque y plena actividad del que fue el primer Centro de Estudios Europeos que se creara en el seno de las Universidades españolas, el de la Universidad de Alcalá en 1978. Estas dos personas a las que quería refirme son el

Embajador de España D. Alberto Ullastres y el actual Consejero del Comisario Figel, el Sr. Jean Claude Eckhout.

Ambos, con su apoyo incondicional a mi proyecto, hicieron realidad el hecho de que el 1 de octubre de 2009 hayamos podido celebrar el 31 aniversario del Centro de Documentación Europea de la Universidad de Alcalá. Para festejarlo, he tenido el gran honor de coordinar una obra en la que participan casi sesenta autores, que acaba de aparecer en el mercado editorial (Jurua, Lisboa, 2009), que bajo el título de “Treinta Años de Integración Europea” pasa revista a las realidades que, actualmente, nos dejara el fenómeno de la construcción europea, al tiempo que mira hacia atrás para reflejar la importancia de lo que ha sucedido en las décadas de experiencia transcurrida.

Así pues, cabe afirmar, que los Centros de Documentación Europea que se instalaron, por parte de la Comisión Europea, en la mayoría de las Universidades que, en aquellos años, lo solicitaban y se comprometían a poner los medios exigidos, es decir, los locales apropiados con entidad y marcado carácter europeísta, por tanto, fuera de los espacios consagrados a las Bibliotecas universitarias, los servicios funcionariales de documentalistas y otro personal de apoyo, etc., vinieron a desempeñar un papel decisivo en la extensión y difusión de la información pluridisciplinar de toda la rica y amplia temática comunitaria. Además, puede constatare el hecho de que, en gran parte de los casos, de la puesta en funcionamiento de dichos Centros de Documentación Europea se fue derivando la aparición y desarrollo de los correspondientes Centros o Institutos de estudios Europeos que presentaban la eficacia de ofrecer la impartición de Cursos, Seminarios, Jornadas y Masteres sobre distintos aspectos de la integración europea, lo que coadyuvó al conocimiento y aprendizaje de la realidad comunitaria en las Universidades y fuera de ellas durante bastantes décadas y continúa.

Naturalmente que se produjeron toda una serie de dificultades iniciales para quienes estábamos empeñados en la labor de difundir el conocimiento en el ámbito del Derecho, de la Economía, de la Ciencia Política y de la Historia o la Cultura a nivel de la integración europea. No constituíamos un grupo muy numeroso, aunque sí éramos batalladores por el logro de la implantación del aprendizaje en materia de Comunidades Europeas. Como digo, fueron años difíciles y plagados de obstáculos.

Las mencionadas dificultades halladas en los primeros años, provenían fundamentalmente, de dos motivos.

En primer lugar, del enorme y generalizado desconocimiento del tema comunitario entre la ciudadanía de los países recién llegados y, particularmente, en las Universidades donde, increíblemente, se producía una cerrazón a la entrada de conocimientos en materia comunitaria, seguramente porque existía una gran ignorancia al respecto entre los propios profesores, lo que hacía muy complicado ir abriendo brechas en el panorama académico. Desgraciadamente eso descrito era, salvo honrosísimas excepciones que también las hubo, la tónica general en aquellos años.

En segundo lugar, de la gran rigidez que presentaban los entonces planes de estudio en vigor, sobretudo en las enseñanzas de Derecho. Se hacía prácticamente imposible plantear modificaciones al plan de estudios de la Licenciatura en derecho que databa del año 1953 y que parecía intocable en sus componentes curriculares. Contenía lo que contenía, es decir, lo que hacía más de treinta años se consideraba necesario para alcanzar unos conocimientos teóricos y prácticos que garantizaban al estudiante su preparación para ejercer el Derecho en su sentido más amplio. Luego, era complicado hacer comprender al mundo académico que estábamos entrando en otro espacio jurídico que, además de lo adquirido como modo usual en las Facultades de derecho, requería información y formación caracterizada por los distintivos propios de un orden jurídico que tomaba como referencia la supranacionalidad, es decir, el actualmente denominado derecho Comunitario, el cual involucraba a todas las especialidades jurídicas impartidas en la Licenciatura de derecho, por lo que se hacía preciso proceder a introducir los cambios pertinentes en el Plan de estudios de 1953 seguido, prácticamente, en todas las Facultades de Derecho de España.

La fuerza y coherencia de los hechos provocaron que, en el año 1990, se procediera a modificar el Plan de Estudios de la Licenciatura en Derecho, incorporándose como asignatura troncal y obligatoria la de Instituciones y Derecho Comunitario, al principio con 6 créditos, es decir, 60 horas y, unos años después, siendo aumentada a 9 créditos, por tanto, 90 horas lectivas, a desarrollar en el tercer año de la Licenciatura.

En este orden de ideas, conviene resaltar que, el hecho apuntado de la inclusión de la materia de Derecho Comunitario en los nuevos planes de estudio que entraron en vigor en el año 1990, coincide en el tiempo con la puesta en marcha de la Acción Jean Monnet. La coincidencia de fechas no hace sino facilitar la incorporación del Derecho Comunitario y, en general, de todas las otras ramas de la Ciencia beneficiadas por lo objetivos y fines de la Acción Jean Monnet, a los nuevos estudios que se iniciaban en las distintas Facultades españolas, si bien no en todos se produjo la entrada en funcionamiento de los nuevos planes en ese año, debido a la gran cantidad de alumnos que tenían y a las dificultades derivadas de la circunstancia señalada, que impedía la ubicación de los mismos en los espacios o aularios destinados a la docencia, ya que las materias curriculares se habían visto incrementadas notablemente.

En efecto, la creación de asignaturas nuevas, tanto de carácter troncal y obligatorio, como también de carácter optativo, o pertenecientes al grupo de las materias denominadas “de libre configuración”, vinieron a engrandecer el estudio y atención, en distintas áreas, del fenómeno de las Comunidades Europeas, incorporándose una enorme cantidad de profesores que, de manera progresiva y atendiendo a las ofertas lanzadas por la Comisión Europea, en las sucesivas y anuales convocatorias de Cátedras, Cursos y Módulos Jean Monnet se fueron produciendo, como decimos, a partir del año 1990. En aquellos primeros años de convocatoria, fueron numerosos los docentes que nos fuimos orientando claramente y cada cual, desde su particular perspectiva de área de conocimiento, hacia una dedicación, prácticamente en exclusividad, en la mayoría de los casos, al estudio, docencia e investigación del proceso de integración europea en sus diferentes ámbitos y facetas.

La Acción Jean Monnet impulsaba, esencialmente, la docencia de los profesores de distintas Universidades europeas, para dedicarse a la impartición del derecho, la Economía, la Historia y la Ciencia Política en su vertiente relativa al proceso de integración europea. Pero, también, en aquellos primeros años de la década de los noventa, la Comisión Europea propició y apoyó con la modalidad de los llamados “Proyectos de Investigación”, las investigaciones en curso de realización los nuevos proyectos que se preparaban por parte de los profesores que habían conseguido algún tipo de estatus dentro de la Acción Jean Monnet. Este hecho fue ampliamente significativo y ayudó financieramente a la realización de bastantes estudios científicos

de enorme importancia y que, al mismo tiempo, sirvieron en muchos casos, para crear redes de investigadores pertenecientes a varias Universidades situadas en diferentes Estados Miembros de la Comunidad Europea e, incluso, de terceros países, todos ellos con un interés común de estudio e investigación.

La creación de la Acción Jean Monnet

La creación y puesta en funcionamiento de la Acción Jean Monnet sirvió para estimular, ciertamente, la progresiva aparición de materias jurídicas, económicas, politológicas y culturales e históricas, siempre en el ámbito comunitario y que se fueron incorporando, de una u otra manera, a los estudios propios de distintas licenciaturas en las diferentes universidades de Europa, en un primer momento y, enseguida, del resto de países del mundo ya que abarcaban la totalidad, prácticamente, de universidades y centros, públicos o privados, de los varios Continentes.

No cabe duda de que, como ya dijimos anteriormente, la creación de la Acción Jean Monnet supuso una importante movilización de docentes, investigadores y universidades de todo tipo a lo largo y ancho del mundo. El estudio y profundización sobre los contenidos europeos se encontraba soterrada en tanto que realidad, y únicamente fue preciso idear y poner en marcha la Acción Jean Monnet para que ello constituyese el necesario revulsivo capaz de lanzar al exterior, es decir, al interés y al conocimiento de los temas comunitarios en toda su pluridisciplinariedad, al medio académico desde una perspectiva ahora ya profesional.

El interés despertado fue “in crescendo” conforme los años y las convocatorias se iban produciendo, aunque, puede decirse, que ya desde el primer año, la Acción Jean Monnet fue un gran éxito y alcanzó altas cotas de participación de universidades y de profesores especialistas en los temas europeos que vieron coronados, a veces, sus esfuerzos personales, gracias al apoyo logístico y económico que ahora provenía desde la Comisión Europea y que servía de aliciente fundamental a las mismas universidades, las cuales veían la oportunidad de estimular y orientar en sus centros y aularios las enseñanzas sobre los diferentes aspectos que eran cubiertos por la integración europea. La ilusión era grande por llevar a cabo numerosos proyectos docentes que empezaron a envolver la actividad académica de muchos profesores

que contaron, en todo momento, con el apoyo de sus respectivas universidades para sostener los idearios y fines proclamados en la misma Acción Jean Monnet.

Podríamos afirmar que, la creación y puesta en funcionamiento de la Acción Jean Monnet, en cualquiera de sus variadas modalidades, tenía por objetivo inicial, y así se iría confirmando año tras año, el expandir de modo progresivo y prudente, la docencia y la investigación sobre las Comunidades Europeas desde los cuatro aspectos que, desde el primer momento se consideraron como pilares o soportes del más amplio conocimiento comunitario, es decir, concretamente, el Derecho, la Economía, la Ciencia Política y la Historia. En el contexto descrito y, desde su inicio, la Acción Jean Monnet supuso para el medio universitario el marco adecuado y de referencia para una aproximación más eficaz y seria a la cobertura que exigían ya en los noventa los estudios pluridisciplinares sobre el proceso de construcción europea que se estaba queriendo desarrollar y que, fundamentalmente consistía en pasar de las viejas Comunidades Europeas a la Unión Europea actualmente en vigor y expansión.

El marco político era el adecuado y se tenía que producir la respuesta más idónea que fuese capaz de imbricar e incorporar a profesores e investigadores, cuya experiencia en el análisis de la temática comunitaria también era esencial para apoyar el crecimiento de los nuevos proyectos a llevarse a cabo en Europa en torno al continuo crecimiento del proceso de integración. Así pues, el nacimiento de la Acción Jean Monnet vino a significar, como ya dijimos, el empujón totalmente necesario para vincular, aún mas, al proceso supranacional en expansión el conjunto y tradición del medio académico europeo, atrayendo hacia el fenómeno de la integración europea toda la fuerza e ilusión que potencialmente guardaban las universidades europeas y de otros países del mundo, a través de gran cantidad de profesores e investigadores que se fueron vinculando a las distintas modalidades de la Acción, es decir, las Cátedras, los Cursos, los Módulos y, más tarde, los Polos.

Como puede imaginarse, el proceso no fue en absoluto sencillo y la aparición de numerosos problemas era casi constante. Con paciencia y mucha prudencia hubo que ir haciendo frente y resolviendo cada una de dichas contrariedades u obstáculos que se iban sucediendo, casi caso por caso, cada uno con sus propias peculiaridades, aunque, afortunadamente, poco a poco todos los supuestos inconvenientes se fueron salvando, y la Acción Jean Monnet mantenía cada año la

importancia y extraordinario atractivo de su convocatoria entre los medios universitarios de casi todo el mundo.

Uno de los problemas que ahora recordamos, y que, en aquellos primeros años constituía una seria dificultad, era el ocasionado entorno a la misma admisibilidad de las distintas categorías de profesores. Ello era debido, esencialmente, a la utilización de la palabra “Cátedras”, que en algunos países, llegó a provocar auténticos debates internos en el mundo universitario, pues se vino en ciertos casos, a poner en entredicho la legalidad del uso de la denominación de Catedráticos a los profesores que eran los titulares de dichas “Cátedras”, siendo que, en la propia convocatoria de las mencionadas cátedras Jean Monnet quedaba muy claro, desde la primera vez, que se trataban de Cátedras simbólicas y que, por consecuencia, no eran cátedras nacionales en tanto que categorías académicas de cada Estado. Sin embargo, no fue entendida así la situación por algunos sectores del profesorado nacional en varios países que parecían bastante dolidos o afectados por el uso que algunos hicimos, desde el primer momento, de la denominación de Catedráticos europeos Jean Monnet para designar a los profesores que eran Titulares de una Cátedra Europea.

Hemos de dejar constancia, en este mismo orden de ideas, aunque inmediatamente después deberíamos olvidarlo y dejarlo en el rincón perdido de las bibliotecas, del hecho real por el que, en algún país, cierto Departamento de una importante universidad pública, llegó a elaborar y cursar oficialmente a su Rector, en tanto que máxima autoridad académica, un escrito, también oficial, en el que se denunciaba ya no sólo el uso de la denominación especificada de Catedráticos Europeos Jean Monnet que hacían los profesores que eran Titulares de las Cátedras (simbólicas) Europeas Jean Monnet, lo que implicaba la no admisibilidad de las categorías de Profesores efectuada por la Acción Jean Monnet en sus convocatorias, sino que, asimismo, se formulaban alegaciones acerca de la no competencia de la Comisión Europea, en tanto que institución comunitaria, ni de las propias Comunidades Europeas, en tanto que organizaciones supranacionales, en materia de educación. Al carecer de competencias en el ámbito educativo, la convocatoria y adjudicación de Cátedras Jean Monnet realizada por la Comisión Europea, llegaba a decirse que carecía de la necesaria legalidad. En fin, como decía hace un momento, todo este episodio lo mejor que se puede hacer es olvidarlo y condenar al más fino y dedicado de los ostracismos a todas aquellas posturas académicas entonces manifestadas

activamente y, afortunadamente, ya hoy en total desuso, pues no significaron mas que una cerrazón universitaria y una ceguera de planteamientos que bastante tenían que ver con alguno de los pecados capitales, en mi modesta opinión.

Por lo demás y al margen de algunos incidentes aislados, como es el caso del relatado, la comunidad universitaria no sólo aceptó de sumo grado la puesta en funcionamiento de la Acción Jean Monnet sino que, además, participó activamente en su ejecución, desde el primer momento, comprometiéndose con la Comisión Europea a mantener las enseñanzas europeas que se iban incorporando a los distintos currícula de las licenciaturas, no sólo los años que se fijaban como mínimos en las convocatorias anuales, sino que éstas fueron prolongadas en el tiempo y “sine die” en la mayor parte de los casos y de las Universidades que participaban en la Acción comunitaria, lo cual ha hecho posible que, en la actualidad y luego de veinte años de experiencia, podemos insistir, una vez más, en el trascendente papel desempeñado a nivel de todo el conjunto de la comunidad universitaria por la reiterada Acción Jean Monnet con sus distintas modalidades, especializaciones y categorías, hoy extendidas por todo el mundo y que aseguran una aproximación y un más elevado conocimiento de la realidad europea, en lo que a su modélico proceso de integración se refiere.

Algunos resultados iniciales

Puede decirse que, del conjunto amplio de actuaciones que se llevaron a cabo en aquellos primeros años de vigencia de la Acción Jean Monnet, pueden destacarse toda una serie de intervenciones que proporcionaron la manifestación de conductas dignas de ser resaltadas ahora aquí, pues fueron determinantes, en gran medida, del éxito alcanzado posteriormente a lo largo de los años con el desarrollo y proyección de la Acción Jean Monnet. En concreto, pensamos que se produjo:

En primer lugar, la creación y puesta en funcionamiento de las primeras redes de Profesores, así como también el impulso de investigaciones conjuntas.

En efecto, la iniciativa comunitaria presenta como primer logro el de favorecer la aparición de grupos de profesores expertos y especializados en determinadas cuestiones, que se organizarán de forma que sus trabajos puedan tener una más

amplia visibilidad y los resultados logrados ofrezcan una mayor influencia en el ámbito científico. En realidad, las actividades que se realizaron por estas redes de académicos e investigadores en aquellos años iniciales, llegaron a tener un enorme influjo en ciertas cuestiones que, a diferentes niveles de decisión, se estaban tratando de impulsar o de resolver, según los casos, en esos momentos. Los grupos que constituyeron las primeras redes de profesores e investigadores en torno a la iniciativa comunitaria gestionada por la Comisión dispusieron de cierta financiación y del apoyo logístico necesario para poder formalizar y concluir sus actuaciones y resultados con bastante éxito en la mayoría de los supuestos.

Un ejemplo bien significativo del evento que acabamos de exponer vino a ser la constitución del denominado Grupo Mediterráneo, conocido también como Grupo 4+1. Este Grupo estaba integrado por profesores provenientes de Francia, Italia, Grecia y España, más Portugal, y desarrolló por bastante tiempo una importante labor en provecho de la hasta entonces extraña y complicada relación existente entre la Comunidad Europea y los países del Mediterráneo. Recuerdo con gran nostalgia las largas sesiones de trabajo del Grupo 4+1. El Grupo, como he dicho, estaba formado por muchos profesores interesados todos de la temática Euromediterránea, sin embargo, sus protagonistas indiscutibles fueron los profesores Jean Claude Gautron, Dario Velo, Constatin Stefanou y Paulo Pita e Cunha. Yo mismo participaba activamente en el quehacer continuo del Grupo. Así formamos el Grupo Mediterráneo que, entre otras actuaciones dignas de mención, fue anterior e inductor del Proceso de Barcelona que unos años más tarde tuvo lugar.

Otro ejemplo, asimismo, digno de resaltar fue el Grupo IELEPI (El Instituto Euro Latinoamericano de Estudios para la Integración), en esta ocasión constituido para trabajar en torno a la relación, casi inexistente entonces y que comenzaba a tomar cuerpo, entre la Unión Europea y América Latina. La red de profesores e investigadores se fue armando sobre la base de lo que era, desde 1993, el Instituto Eurolatinoamericano de estudios para la Integración, institución creada por voluntad del Parlamento Europeo y la Comisión con un grupo de Universidades y de Profesores de países de la Unión Europea y de América Latina, y que nació como resultado de una Congreso organizado por AUDESCO (la Asociación Universitaria de Estudios Comunitarios), es decir, European Community Studies Association- España en Granada (España) en 1992. El Grupo IELEPI, que aún actualmente continua su

actividad, ha venido desarrollando una muy intensa labor en el ámbito de las relaciones entre la Unión Europea y América Latina; concretamente, desde las perspectivas jurídica, económica-social, politológica e histórica-cultural. Probablemente, del conjunto amplio de actuaciones que el Instituto Euro Latinoamericano de Estudios para la Integración ha llevado a cabo, habría que destacar, en aquellos años iniciales de la Acción Jean Monnet, la creación e impulso constante de la European Community Studies Association- América Latina.

Todavía recuerdo como algo muy próximo en el tiempo las reuniones que mantuvimos en Granada, con motivo del 2º Congreso del Instituto Euro Latinoamericano de Estudios para la Integración, en el año 1995, de una parte Emile Noel, de otra Jacqueline Lastenouse y, de otro lado yo mismo en mi calidad en ese momento de Presidente de European Community Studies Association (ECSA)-España. El objetivo de aquellas reuniones de trabajo, acaecidas en las comidas y entre las sesiones del Congreso, no era otro que lograr el apoyo necesario de la Comisión Europea y del Consejo Universitario Europeo para la Acción Jean Monnet, para la creación y patrocinio inicial de la European Community Studies Association- América Latina. Se consiguió el acuerdo y European Community Studies Association – América Latina nació en Asunción (Paraguay) en reunión constitutiva, a la que asistieron más de cincuenta profesores de distintos países de Latinoamérica, especializados en integración europea y de otros procesos de integración regional, en el año 1996. Una vez logrado el objetivo de constituir la European Community Studies Association – América Latina, el Instituto Euro Latinoamericano de Estudios para la Integración continuó en su empeño de ir descentralizando, por países y regiones, la aparición o nacimiento de European Community Studies Associations de carácter nacional en América Latina y, sobretodo, en aquellos países de mayor dimensión tanto geográfica como poblacional. En este orden de ideas, primero tuvo lugar la creación de European Community Studies Association-Brasil y poco después European Community Studies Association-Argentina, para unos años más tarde constituirse European Community Studies Association-México, European Community Studies Association-Chile, European Community Studies Association-Andina y European Community Studies Association-Centroamérica, siendo que, aún en la actualidad, se está trabajando para crear otras European Community Studies Associations en Perú, Colombia, Bolivia, etc.. Y todo arrancó desde la red IELEPI de profesores e investigadores. Que hermosa trayectoria histórica.

En segundo lugar, las iniciativas directas de la Comisión Europea que se fueron poniendo en marcha al objeto de servir como incentivo para movilizar las actuaciones de las Cátedras Jean Monnet. Se buscaba provocar la movilización de grupos de Catedráticos Jean Monnet para animar e impulsar la creación de redes de profesores orientadas a la profundización sobre determinadas materias de atención y preocupación preferente por parte de la Comisión Europea. De esta manera, fueron numerosos los grupos que se constituyeron en aquellos primeros años de vigencia de la Acción comunitaria.

Podríamos citar ahora, como ejemplo paradigmático, la reunión que tuvo lugar en Sevilla (España), en el mes de mayo del año 1992, con motivo de la Exposición Universal que se celebraba en dicha ciudad andaluza. Como Presidente de European Community Studies Association-España y perteneciente a la primera ornada de catedráticos Jean Monnet en mi país, recibí el encargo, ciertamente curioso, aunque enormemente atractivo, por parte de la Comisión Europea, que inmediatamente paso a relatarles.

En efecto, supongo que dada mi condición antes mencionada, un buen día del mes de abril recibí una llamada telefónica en la que Jacqueline Lastenouse me encargaba el difícil reto de preparar la celebración en Sevilla de una reunión con todos los Catedráticos Jean Monnet al objeto de analizar el concepto de ciudadanía europea, tratar de definirla y dotarla de contenido en lo que a derechos se refería. El escenario habría de ser Sevilla porque ahí se celebraba la Exposición Universal de 1992 y ello significaría un incentivo clarísimo para que acudieran y participaran en la reunión un grupo numeroso o suficientemente significativo de profesores Jean Monnet, capaces de ofrecer conclusiones tangibles al debate de la ciudadanía europea que se hallaba abierto y sin contenido transparente en cuanto a resultados a escala comunitaria, desde que el tema fuera planteado por el Presidente del Gobierno español Felipe González Márquez en el seno del Consejo Europeo. El objetivo pues, consistía en reunirnos los profesores Jean Monnet para profundizar acerca del tema de la ciudadanía europea y sobre los derechos que la misma comportaría para los ciudadanos de los estados miembros.

Recuerdo que, en aquel momento, éramos en total 46 Cátedras Jean Monnet. Rápidamente me puse en marcha para conseguir saber cuantos profesores acudirían a Sevilla e, inmediatamente, lo más complicado, es decir, buscar y encontrar alojamiento en la ciudad para todos los participantes. Puedo asegurarles que, una vez conocida la cifra de asistentes – 32 profesores me confirmó la Comisión Europea-, hube de remover contactos al más alto nivel para encontrar el lugar donde albergar a los asistentes a la Reunión de Sevilla. Finalmente conseguí mi pretensión en unas caballerizas habilitadas y transformadas para la ocasión en mini habitaciones de hotel y ofertadas por la mismísima Presidencia del Gobierno de España. No piensen que fue tarea fácil, aunque pudimos resolver el problema logístico que se planteaba debido, fundamentalmente, a la época – el mes de mayo- en que habíamos de celebrar nuestra reunión.

El desarrollo del encuentro no se lo voy a detallar, pues, como pueden imaginar, no quisiera causarles envidia del pasado. El escenario, Sevilla; la época, ya les dije que el mes de mayo, es decir plena primavera andaluza, con un clima delicioso y un olor a flor de azahar constante por las calles, que nos inducía al divertimento y, en definitiva, a trabajar más bien poco en lo que era el encargo que nos había formulado la Comisión y que constituía la razón de ser de nuestra reunión en Sevilla. En efecto, las horas y los días iban transcurriendo y nadie pensaba en que la Comisión esperaba el resultado conclusivo de nuestras discusiones y debates académicos sobre la ciudadanía europea y los derechos que habría de comportar.

No puedo recordar en este momento todos los nombres de los treinta y dos Catedráticos Jean Monnet que asistimos a la Reunión de Sevilla, aunque creo que sí podría mencionar a una parte importante de los mismos. Evocaré la presencia de los siguientes profesores, pidiendo disculpas anticipadas a aquellos otros que ahora no retengo en mi memoria:

- J.C. Gautron
- Kniping
- Pita e Cunha
- M. Bernad
- J. Bourrinet
- Müller- Graft

- C. Stefanou
- J.A. Jáuregui
- H. Labayle
- Marescau
- A. Sanchez Bravo
- J.M. Casado
- H. Rasmussen
- A. Papisca
- J. M. Aguera
- Malcolm Anderson

Pues bien, puedo confiarles que, en mi calidad de anfitrión de aquél encuentro, tenía grandes preocupaciones por el temor a no obtener demasiados resultados, por el “ambiente” que disfrutamos en esos días que, más bien, parecían de asueto y vacaciones en la Expo de Sevilla. Sin embargo, he de manifestar públicamente que estaba confundido, pues cuando al final del segundo día de los tres que duraría nuestra reunión, planteé el recordatorio de nuestra misión, los profesores se volcaron en intensificar sus ideas al respecto de la temática que nos congregaba, ofreciendo todo tipo de propuestas y sugerencias que, con posterioridad y de manera ordenada y científica, fueron transmitidas a la Comisión en tanto que conclusiones elaboradas y aportadas por los Catedráticos Jean Monnet acerca de la ciudadanía europea, su concepto y el conjunto de derechos que comportaba, al menos inicialmente. Cabe afirmar que el éxito alcanzado con la iniciativa de la Comisión Europea había sido espectacular, sirviendo, además, para intensificar las relaciones interpersonales del grupo de Catedráticos Jean Monnet de esos primeros años, los cuales perduran aún entre la mayor parte de nosotros.

A modo de conclusión

En fin, teniendo en consideración cuanto antecede, creo que debo de ir finalizando, y lo haré con unas reflexiones de cierre que, encerrando las experiencias y la historia inicial de la Acción Jean Monnet, puedan servir de corolario que enlace el pasado con el futuro del Programa Jean Monnet. La observación del conocimiento nos enseña cómo y por dónde debe trazarse el comportamiento y las actuaciones posteriores. En consecuencia, las ricas experiencias habidas durante la vigencia de la Acción Jean

Monnet han de constituir las bases sólidas sobre las cuales debe montarse y ejecutarse el Programa Jean Monnet de cara al devenir de su mejor desarrollo y al logro de una mayor eficacia del mismo.

En este mismo orden de ideas, conviene recordar que, de cara al futuro y sobre los pilares de la experiencia acumulada, existe como realidad un enorme potencial con el que se debería:

- 1) Fomentar la creación de Grupos temáticos. Por ejemplo, sobre la integración europea como modelo de los procesos de integración en América latina y el Caribe. Así, el Mercado Común del Sur (MERCOSUR), la Comunidad Andina de Naciones (CAN), la Comunidad Centroamericana, o la Comunidad del Caribe (el Caricom).
- 2) Impulsar la creación y el mantenimiento de redes de Profesores y de Investigadores, ya sea a través de Asociaciones o de cualquier otro medio; igualmente respecto al necesario apoyo y potenciación de los Centros de Calidad. En definitiva, se trataría de fomentar y promover la aparición y sostenimiento de las redes mencionadas de manera que, progresivamente, se consiguiera estimular la generación de grupos de profesores que buscasen la excelencia y que tuviesen objetivos comunes, tanto en Europa, como en América Latina y el Caribe, en Asia, en Estados Unidos y Canadá, en la Región Mediterránea.
- 3) Procurar y potenciar la “utilización” de los profesores Jean Monnet –que actualmente son más de 700 en todo el mundo- por parte, tanto de los Estados en los que desarrollan su trabajo científico y docente con habitualidad, como de las distintas instituciones, órganos y organismos de la Unión Europea. La mencionada toma en consideración de los profesores Jean Monnet debe realizarse sobre la base de la posesión por parte de éstos de una elevada formación, amplios conocimientos y una profunda e innegable experiencia acumulada en materia comunitaria.

En este mismo orden de ideas, concluiríamos insistiendo en el hecho de que resulta absolutamente esencial la creación y, lo que es aún más importante, el apoyo a la

consolidación de Grupos de soporte y respaldo, integrados por verdaderos especialistas con estatus de Jean Monnet, en forma pluridisciplinar, que puedan ejercer las funciones propias de consejeros y de expertos en las diferentes materias que afectan a la vida comunitaria. Dichos Grupos de apoyo de especialistas Jean Monnet debieran ser “aprovechados” – dada la inversión económica que en ellos se realiza- por parte de las Instituciones, órganos y organismos de la Unión Europea. En otras palabras, señores responsables de las instituciones, órganos y organismos de la Unión, los Catedráticos Jean Monnet nos sentimos infra utilizados y queremos, una vez más, ponernos a la disposición de ustedes para trabajar colaborando en todo aquello que pensamos podríamos ser útiles debido a nuestros conocimientos y experiencias de carácter profesional. Consideramos que una fórmula eficaz es la constitución de Grupos sectoriales de profesores y de investigadores en temas comunitarios que, al mismo tiempo, vayan tejiendo grandes redes del conocimiento en materia de integración.

VII. The Future of the Jean Monnet Programme and European Integration Studies

Jordi Curell Gotor

Lucia Serena Rossi

Catherine Flaesch-Mougin

José María Beneyto

Jordi Curell Gotor

Director in Directorate General Education and Culture of the European Commission



THE FUTURE OF THE JEAN MONNET PROGRAMME

I have the pleasure of moderating the session on the future of the Jean Monnet Programme.

Before going into detail, let me underline what the Jean Monnet Action has become today.

It has become a vast global network encompassing 62 countries across the world and 5 continents and uniting many hundreds of thousands of academics, researchers and students in a common aim to further knowledge on European affairs.

As we just have heard during the previous session, the Jean Monnet programme has its origins in a period of rapid development for the European construction process.

Originally restricted to universities and higher education establishments in the Member States, the Jean Monnet programme has grown and been enlarged in parallel with the European Union. Early pilot projects were set up in 1993 in Poland and Hungary and in 1997 in the Czech Republic, in universities conscious of the need to prepare scholars and citizens for future European Union membership. The year 2001 saw the

opening of the programme to institutions across the world and the Jean Monnet programme is today one of a select few Community programmes offering support for this kind of activity on a global scale.

In 2004, the Jean Monnet Action for the first time was provided with a proper legal basis and since 2007 the upgraded Jean Monnet Programme forms part of the new Lifelong Learning Programme 2007-2013, which constitutes a key stone of European education policy.

Consequently, the network of Jean Monnet Chairs plays a vital role.

Mesdames et Messieurs,

Je suis ravi de pouvoir saluer ici quelques-uns des pionniers des relations fructueuses entre la Commission européenne et les milieux universitaires.

M. Jacques-René RABIER, tout d'abord. L'ancien Directeur de Cabinet de Jean Monnet au Commissariat Général du Plan à Paris mais aussi l'ancien Directeur général "Information" de la Commission qui a créé— dès 1957 — une Unité de l'information universitaire et de la jeunesse au sein de la Commission.

Aussi M. Manuel SANTARELLI qui a demandé à ses services de travailler sur le lancement d'un réseau de Chaires européennes.

Et, encore Mesdames Fausta DESHORMES et Jacqueline LASTENOUSE qui pendant plus d'une décennie, l'une après l'autre, ont servi de leurs idées et dévouements l'Action Jean Monnet.

Mesdames, Messieurs, nous sommes très honorés de votre présence au sein de cette prestigieuse assemblée.

Futur

Prospective dès son origine, l'Action Jean Monnet se doit, dès aujourd'hui, de penser à son avenir.

Des riches échanges ont eu lieu l'an passé avec les responsables des Institutions nommées dans le programme et les coordonateurs des Centres d'excellence Jean

Monnet. Je retiens d'ores et déjà quatre dimensions à explorer, que je nous pourrons développer ensemble :

1. Créer des programmes d'études Jean Monnet conjoints sur la base de partenariats entre différents universités de l'Europe et du monde, permettant ainsi aux étudiants d'obtenir des doubles ou triples diplômes des universités associées;
2. Soutenir le développement de 'réseaux' entre Centres Jean Monnet, ainsi qu'avec d'autres centres d'excellence universitaires dans le monde afin d'encourager de façon structurelle la coopération transnationale dans l'enseignement et l'étude sur des domaines très divers dont je ne citerai que quelques exemples: le dialogue Euro-méditerranéen, les relations transatlantiques et Euro-Asiatiques, ou encore sur le rôle de l'Union dans le développement soutenable et la gouvernance économique mondiale;
3. Promouvoir le développement de Centres Jean Monnet à l'échelle régionale ;
4. Rapprocher les enseignements Jean Monnet de la société civile en soutenant les activités en partenariat avec le monde associatif; et
5. Introduire dans le nouveau programme le soutien aux activités d'autres institutions de grand renom actives dans l'enseignement du modèle européen d'administration ou encore de collaboration entre les universités et les entreprises.

Ce sont des thèmes sur lesquels je vous invite à réfléchir.

Les trois éminents intervenants de cette séance, Lucia Serena Rossi, Catherine Flaesch-Mougin et José María Beneyto auront la charge d'esquisser les pistes pour le futur programme communautaire Jean Monnet.

Lucia Serena Rossi

Jean Monnet Chair and Director of the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence at the University of Bologna



IL FUTURO DEL PROGRAMMA JEAN MONNET: SOSTENERE IL DOTTORATO E IL POST-DOC

Ritengo che riflettere sul futuro del Programma Jean Monnet sia riflettere sul futuro dei giovani ricercatori, coloro che domani diventeranno professori. Le misure che qui si suggeriscono potrebbero consentire di sviluppare una classe di futuri professori veramente europei, il che, soprattutto per le materie di rilievo del Programma Jean Monnet è assolutamente fondamentale.

Supportare il Dottorato

Il dottorato di ricerca rappresenta l'eccellenza nel campo della formazione universitaria europea.

Gli studenti del dottorato sono in una specie di zona grigia fra studio e ricerca. Da un lato sono studenti universitari di terzo ciclo, destinatari di una formazione specialistica e mirata. Ma dall'altro essi sono al primo gradino della ricerca, spesso contribuendo con i lavori al successo dei gruppi di ricerca universitari, e della carriera accademica, poiché se non tutti i dottorandi diventeranno professori ormai in tutti gli Stati membri è molto improbabile diventare professori senza prima avere conseguito il dottorato. I dottorandi ed i giovani dottori di ricerca sono dunque un patrimonio prezioso per le Università, facilitando lo sviluppo e la sperimentazione di nuove idee.

Purtroppo però il dottorato ed il post doc soffrono di una cronica scarsità di fondi, sia a livello nazionale che per quanto concerne i fondi europei. I programmi correnti non offrono infatti supporto adeguato e il Programma Jean Monnet potrebbe colmare questa lacuna, tornandosi ad occupare (come ha fatto in passato) del dottorato.

- 1) *Incoraggiare la mobilità e lo scambio di idee per spezzare l'isolamento dei singoli dottorati.* Nel sistema attuale di dottorati nazionali vi è il rischio (anche dovuto alla mancanza di risorse economiche) che i dottorati si ripieghino su sé stessi, trattenendo per tre anni il dottorando all'interno di una singola università. Sarebbe invece evidentemente vantaggioso favorire la mobilità dei dottorandi e delle loro idee, garantendo anche la possibilità di studiare all'estero inserendosi temporaneamente all'interno delle scuole dottorali di altri Stati membri. Si possono individuare alcune misure che potrebbero consentire ai dottorandi iscritti in uno Stato di passare, all'interno del triennio, un periodo presso la scuola dottorale di un altro Paese. I programmi attuali (Erasmus) dovrebbero potersi applicare anche ai dottorandi. Purtroppo in taluni Stati membri le Agenzie Erasmus nazionali rifiutano di dare borse di mobilità ai dottorandi che ne abbiano già usufruito quando erano studenti. Si tratta di un'interpretazione che è sbagliata in tutti i casi in cui lo studente abbia avuto una precedente borsa per un periodo inferiore ai 12 mesi (normalmente gli studenti rimangono all'estero per 6-9 mesi). Essi dunque, una volta divenuti dottorandi, devono poter chiedere liberamente una borsa Erasmus per i mesi che residuano. Occorre quindi che la Commissione faccia pressione sulle Agenzie nazionali, perché si evitino preclusioni e discriminazioni nell'applicazione delle regole del programma Erasmus.
- 2) *Istituire dei tutors Jean Monnet.* Si potrebbe pensare a piccole borse di studio con cui **retribuire un dottorando affinché faccia da tutor per dottorandi provenienti da dottorati stranieri** (aiutandolo a conoscere le biblioteche e le strutture, consentendo loro di superare i problemi dovuti alle differenze linguistiche, ecc). Si tratterebbe di un rapporto di "pari livello", diverso da quello che i dottorandi intrattengono normalmente con i professori. Questo costituirebbe anche un incentivo per le singole Università ad accogliere internship di dottorandi di Università straniere.
- 3) *Istituire iniziative dottorali congiunte* fra scuole dottorali di diversi Stati membri. Il Programma Jean Monnet potrebbe finanziare iniziative congiunte di diverse Università finalizzate ai dottorati: **PHD Summer School** (la possibilità esiste già), **PHD conferences**, **reti tematiche per dottorandi**.

- 4) *Sostenere i titoli congiunti.* Un titolo di dottorato congiunto da un lato richiede che il dottorando trascorra un periodo effettivo abbastanza lungo (minimo 6 mesi nei tre anni) presso l'altra Università e dall'altro presuppone grande integrazione fra due Università (la tesi è seguita in parallelo dalle due Università e la discussione finale è congiunta). Il titolo congiunto è perfettamente spendibile nello Stato ospite. In ciò si distingue dal c.d. *doctor europeus*, che è un titolo non avente valore legale, rilasciato all'interno di una rete di università presso le quali lo studente può chiedere la tutela individuale. L'attuale linea prevista dal programma Erasmus Mundus non è adeguata, in quanto richiede 3 Università. Ma poiché non è pensabile che 3 Università rilascino ciascuna il suo titolo ad uno stesso dottorando, questo programma di fatto incoraggia non titoli congiunti) ma invece reti che conferiscono il titolo di *doctor europeus*, con scarsa integrazione delle ricerche interuniversitarie. Il Programma Jean Monnet dovrebbe sostenere i titoli di dottorato congiunto, fra 2 Università di diversi Stati membri, sotto forma di borse di studio e di sovvenzioni alla mobilità di studenti e docenti.

Supportare il Post doc

A causa della crisi finanziaria gli Stati membri stanno tagliando i fondi alla ricerca. La fase più delicata di un giovane studioso è quella in cui ha finito il dottorato ma non ha ancora un posto fisso in un'Università. Si possono immaginare tre azioni

- 1) Il Programma Jean Monnet dovrebbe finanziare delle **borse di studio biennali per post-doc. Si tratta di selezionare solo progetti di eccellenza, che portino alla sicura pubblicazione di una monografia di rilievo per i settori disciplinari coperti dal programma Jean Monnet.** I Centri di Eccellenza potrebbero collaborare per realizzare questa iniziativa.
- 2) Gli attuali programmi di ricerca comunitari dovrebbero incoraggiare la **partecipazione transnazionale di giovani ricercatori** (dottorandi o dottori di ricerca), considerandola fra i requisiti che conferiscono maggior valore ad un progetto.

- 3) Infine si può pensare ad un supporto per la traduzione in altre lingue delle migliori tesi di dottorato già pubblicate come libri in uno Stato membro. Questo faciliterebbe la circolazione delle idee e aiuterebbe anche il giovane ricercatore a d essere conosciuto e ad inserirsi in Università straniere.

Catherine Flaesch-Mougin

Jean Monnet Chair and
Director of the Jean Monnet
Centre of Excellence at the
University of Rennes 2



L'AVENIR DU PROGRAMME JEAN MONNET ET DES ETUDES SUR L'INTEGRATION EUROPEENNE

Les anniversaires sont traditionnellement l'occasion de dresser des bilans et d'élaborer des projets d'avenir. Ce XX^e anniversaire de l'action Jean Monnet que la Commission a qualifiée de « success story » n'y échappe pas. Aussi tenterons nous de tirer d'abord quelques leçons du passé à travers notre propre expérience pour formuler par la suite quelques propositions pour le futur de ce qui est devenu le programme Jean Monnet.

Quelques leçons du passé

Le Centre d'excellence de Rennes dont je suis coordinatrice peut témoigner de l'intérêt de l'action Jean Monnet car il en a vécu les divers développements, même si la création d'un centre de recherches européennes lui est antérieure. En effet, dès les années 60, il existait à Rennes des cours de droit communautaire (dont un DEA, équivalent du master recherche actuel, spécialisé dès 1981), un centre de documentation européenne recevant gratuitement l'ensemble de la documentation officielle de la Communauté et une équipe de recherche en droit. Riche aujourd'hui de plus de 800 thèses et mémoires réalisés depuis cette époque, le Centre de recherches européennes a été l'une des rares équipes de recherche reconnue dès les années 80 pour ses travaux sur l'intégration européenne par le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique en France (CNRS).

En dépit de cette antériorité du Centre de recherches européennes, l'action et le programme, Jean Monnet de la Commission européenne lui ont beaucoup apporté. Quatre illustrations de cette valeur ajoutée peuvent notamment être soulignées.

1) L'élargissement de l'offre de cours

A partir du droit à l'origine, des cours ont été proposés dans de nouvelles disciplines grâce à la création de chaires Jean Monnet (économie, histoire, géographie) et des modules ont permis l'ouverture de nouvelles formations, y compris à l'étranger. Un master d'études européennes de l'université Rennes 2 délocalisé à Hanoï vient ainsi d'être créé au Vietnam.

2) Le décloisonnement disciplinaire.

L'obtention de chaires dans quatre disciplines différentes et la création du Centre d'excellence Jean Monnet ont favorisé la réalisation de recherches de caractère pluridisciplinaire et la tenue de manifestations scientifiques permettant d'aborder de façon globale et intégrée les thématiques européennes.

3) La structuration institutionnelle.

Le label de Pôle européen Jean Monnet (appellation initiale des centres d'excellence en France) a d'abord été accordé en 1998 à l'université de Rennes 1. Puis, en 2005, les deux universités rennaises ont réfléchi à une coopération autour de l'intégration européenne et ont, ensemble, obtenu un centre d'excellence. Une grande école prestigieuse en France, l'Ecole normale supérieure de Cachan qui a une antenne en Bretagne, l'a rejoint en 2008, témoignant de l'attractivité du label Jean Monnet. Le centre a eu clairement un rôle fédérateur, qui est loin d'être achevé, en associant des membres appartenant à des institutions très différentes et à plusieurs laboratoires de recherches associés au Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique en France (CNRS).

4) La lisibilité et les contacts.

Le label Jean Monnet délivré par la Commission s'est avéré important vis-à-vis des institutions académiques ; les visiting comitees qui ont évalué les universités y ont notamment été sensibles. Le label a contribué à la visibilité des études sur l'intégration européenne et a facilité par ailleurs les relations avec des acteurs non académiques, particulièrement au plan local. Par ailleurs, l'existence du réseau des

chaires et des centres Jean Monnet a été déterminante pour enrichir les coopérations internationales, faciliter l'organisation de manifestations scientifiques « européeniser » les jurys de thèse, favoriser les cotutelles/codirections et faciliter la mobilité des chercheurs.

Il est donc clair que, durant ces vingt années, l'action et le programme Jean Monnet ont constitué pour notre centre rennais un apport indéniable. A ce titre, je souhaite saluer le rôle de pionnière joué par madame Jacqueline Lastenouse dans la création de l'action Jean Monnet et celui de consolidatrice de madame Belén Bernaldo de Quiros dans sa poursuite à des moments difficiles et sa montée en puissance ultérieure. Aujourd'hui, certaines évolutions sont intervenues, en lien avec celles de l'Union européenne et de la Commission : le programme s'est internationalisé et est devenu planétaire, le nombre des chaires, des centres et des projets a explosé, le programme est désormais doté d'une base légale, donc d'une plus grande sécurité juridique. Tous ces aspects sont positifs et doivent être salués. Mais, ils se sont accompagnés d'une plus grande complexité, voire de lourdeurs procédurales en matière d'accès au programme et de gestion des projets. Répondant certes à de légitimes impératifs de rigueur, ce formalisme, parfois disproportionné avec le montant des sommes en jeu, ne doit pas à l'avenir devenir démobilisateur et inhibiteurs d'initiatives, notamment dans certains pays tiers.

Quelques propositions pour l'avenir

En dépit de sa réussite et de ses résultats extrêmement positifs, le programme Jean Monnet reste plus que jamais indispensable. En effet, il a un rôle important à jouer en relation avec les objectifs de l'Union européenne et ses ambitions politiques, mais aussi au regard de ses carences, notamment l'absence de sentiment d'appartenance de ses citoyens.

Je donnerai quatre raisons qui militent, à mon sens, pour la poursuite du programme Jean Monnet, son enrichissement et le renforcement des soutiens accordés et je ferai quelques propositions concrètes.

1) *La nécessaire poursuite du développement des enseignements sur l'intégration européenne*

Sans évoquer les besoins spécifiques des pays tiers, il existe des champs où la création de nouvelles chaires au sein de l'Union européenne est importante : c'est notamment le cas de domaines comme l'Espace de liberté, de sécurité et de justice. En tant que juriste, il convient de souligner les besoins de création de nouveaux cours spécifiques à ces domaines afin d'éviter que des professeurs, spécialistes de droit interne, ne se contentent d'ajouter ces questions à leur cours sans les resituer dans un contexte global et dans le système de l'Union à 27. Il en va de l'unité de l'ordre juridique et de l'uniformité d'application du droit de l'Union.

Par ailleurs il existe toujours des besoins importants de formation si l'on veut faire connaître les bases de fonctionnement de l'Union et créer un sentiment d'appartenance. Il importe par exemple de systématiser les modules d'études européennes dans les formations scientifiques et dans les cursus où elles ne figurent pas « naturellement » comme c'est le cas dans les formations de sciences humaines et sociales. Dans le même esprit, il faudrait systématiquement chercher à développer des modules « Europe » dans les parcours de formation permanente ou continue, c'est-à-dire à l'intention des personnes du monde du travail revenant temporairement vers l'université.

2) *La poursuite de la structuration et de la valorisation du réseau des chaires et des centres d'excellence*

Le potentiel de recherches et le réservoir de compétences que constitue le réseau Jean Monnet ont été soulignés. Ils doivent continuer à être valorisés avec la poursuite de deux objectifs qui nous semblent particulièrement importants :

- Conforter tout d'abord l'existence d'une véritable communauté scientifique avec l'amplification des actions telles que la constitution de réseaux thématiques internationaux et le soutien à des manifestations associant des centres et chaires de plusieurs nationalités, y compris multi-sites ou itinérantes (colloques, universités d'été....)
- Porter ensuite une attention spécifique aux jeunes chercheurs qui constituent une pépinière d'avenir, notamment:

Les doctorants avec l'organisation de séminaires et la constitution de réseaux de doctorants avec une stimulation des codirections et des cotutelles.

Les post-doctorants en phase intermédiaire entre fin d'études doctorales et début de carrière académique méritent aussi attention : pourquoi ne pas créer un prix de thèse Jean Monnet et susciter un site web facilitant les mobilités ?

Les jeunes professeurs, dans la mesure où ils sont sujets à des contraintes de carrière et d'enseignement, ne peuvent pas toujours faire tout leur service d'enseignement sur les questions européennes. Pourquoi ne pas créer des chaires « junior » avec des exigences d'enseignement moins rigoureuses mais impliquant des activités de recherche et l'organisation de manifestations sur l'intégration. Ce système pourrait être repris dans les pays tiers où les cours sur l'intégration sont nécessairement moins nombreux mais devraient être encouragés.

Un autre aspect important serait de réaliser un inventaire et un classement des revues européennes avec l'appui du Conseil européen universitaire dont le rôle devrait, de façon plus générale, être accru en lien avec l'action Jean Monnet.

3) L'Appui renforcé à l'action internationale de l'Union européenne

Le programme Jean Monnet est planétaire et donne une visibilité internationale à l'Union européenne. Il permet de multiplier les enseignements sur l'intégration européenne et de développer les recherches. En ce sens, il fait connaître l'Union européenne dans le monde entier.

Il nous semble qu'il pourrait être utilisé au-delà, plus directement, en vue de la création de réseaux-ressource sur les grands problèmes du monde. Il y a là des laboratoires d'idées qui pourraient permettre de nourrir une réflexion partenariale, qui n'ait pas un caractère européen-centré, grâce à la présence de professeurs du monde entier. Les processus d'intégration et leur rôle dans la gouvernance mondiale constituent par exemple un sujet qui mériterait d'être traité dans le cadre de tels réseaux. En effet, il existe une gamme variée d'intégrations.

Certaines ont fait le choix du « modèle communautaire » mais sans parvenir à lui donner une effectivité ou en s'appuyant sur des atouts que n'avait pas l'Europe.

D'autres récusent ce modèle, pensant pouvoir se satisfaire d'une zone de libre échange minimaliste ou parvenir à une intégration par des mécanismes plus respectueux des souverainetés nationales. Mais, au-delà de la diversité des choix, le modèle européen fait figure de référence et ses évolutions sont examinées avec attention. Ce fourmillement d'expériences invite à une réflexion qui pourrait être soutenu par diverses initiatives :

- réseaux thématiques spécifiques visant à la comparaison des processus d'intégration ou à l'étude de la place des intégrations dans la gouvernance mondiale.
- création de « Chaire intégration » permettant l'accueil pendant des périodes courtes (1-2 mois) de visiting professeurs sur la thématique des intégrations
- création de diplômes conjoints dans les pays tiers portant sur les approches comparatives et relationnelles (Union européenne et intégration(s) de la région en cause en Amérique, Afrique ou Asie)

4) La contribution à l'émergence d'une véritable citoyenneté européenne

Les élections européennes ont une nouvelle fois montré le décalage entre la construction européenne et l'opinion publique peu intéressée voire démunie face à la complexité de l'Union. Bien qu'il soit loin d'être le seul, un premier aspect de la réconciliation entre l'Union et ses citoyens passe plus d'information mais surtout une information de qualité et bien faite, c'est-à-dire qui ne soit pas plaquée, indigeste et présentée sans lien avec le quotidien des citoyens.

Les Centres d'excellence Jean Monnet, par leur caractère fédérateur et leur ancrage régional, ont à cet égard de gros atouts :

- la compétence : en tant que réservoir d'expertise pluridisciplinaire, ils sont en mesure d'offrir une information de qualité et de pouvoir susciter l'intérêt en dégageant les enjeux des diverses questions qui touchent l'Union européenne.
- l'objectivité : intervenant conformément aux exigences de rigueur et d'indépendance universitaires, les membres des Centres sont à même de provoquer la réflexion sans préoccupations partisans et de susciter le débat, y compris sur des questions sensibles qui fâchent.
- la visibilité : les Centres sont régulièrement sollicités par les collectivités, les syndicats, les associations, les particuliers ; leurs membres peuvent ainsi être présents dans des enceintes variées (médias, manifestations culturelles, artistiques, scientifiques non consacrées à des questions européennes) et ont la capacité de faire

prendre conscience des réalités européennes dans des manifestations très différentes.

La dimension citoyenne du programme Jean Monnet pourrait être plus systématiquement exploitée en offrant aux Centres des facilités accrues pour favoriser la diffusion des savoirs sur l'Europe et exploiter le potentiel d'information et de formation dont ils disposent.

Le programme Jean Monnet a donc encore beaucoup à apporter au sein et en dehors de l'Union européenne !

**José María
Beneyto**

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**THE FUTURE OF THE JEAN MONNET PROGRAMME AND OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION
STUDIES**

1.) Background: the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty and the transformation of the global economic and political *status quo*

The Lisbon Treaty came into force on 1 December 2009, ending nearly a decade of debate on institutional and constitutional reforms in the European Union. Having been initiated in 2000, following the speech given by former German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Joschka Fischer, at the Humboldt University in Berlin on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Schumann Declaration, the unexpected acceleration of the process provided the conditions for a “constitutional moment” in the Union. The debate on the drafting of a Constitutional Treaty and on the future of Europe became an issue of considerable political relevance both within and outside Europe. It was also an intellectually attractive issue for leading European thinkers, including most notably Jürgen Habermas. Suddenly, it seemed that the question of the European continent’s destiny necessarily had to be linked to the results of the European Convention. The major question marks hanging over issues such as the European identity, the promotion of the rule of law and of European values, the principles of a mixed economy, or the need for a specifically European response to the problems created by globalization, were placed in the spotlight of political debate.

The advantage of the “constitutional decade” (2000 – 2009), from the perspective of the outcome of the Lisbon Treaty, is that it placed on the table the major issues involved in European integration. One of the current and future consequences – owing to a certain weariness caused by the length of the debate – may be a shift towards greater pragmatism. But what the “constitutional decade” undoubtedly did achieve, however, was a highly transparent debate among citizens – and not just the interested elite - on issues such as the most suitable model of interaction between the Member States and the European institutions, the problem of the so-called “democratic deficit”, the European Union’s *telos*, the role of Europe in the world, questions relating to the European identity or the Union’s geographical boundaries, etc. In addition, several countries, such as France or Luxembourg, used referenda on the Constitutional Treaty as an instrument of public, critical expression by their citizens. Others, as seen in the consultations in Spain and the Netherlands, failed to attract the attention of voters to the same extent. The method itself, of holding referenda on highly technical constitutional issues, leaves a certain ambivalent aftertaste. The rejections by France and the Netherlands, and the subsequent difficulties in obtaining ratification of the Lisbon Treaty by Ireland and the Czech Republic, and even the judgment issued by the German Constitutional Court, show that the Union needs to keep reaffirming, on an on-going basis, its legitimacy in the eyes of its citizens and its Member States.

We should not forget, however, that the steps taken towards an “ever closer union” between “the peoples of Europe” over the past twenty-five years have been ambitious and very substantial. Resistance is only to be expected. The doubts as to the continuity of the integration dynamic expressed by the Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe will not prove to be a major obstacle in the future, and the overall outcome of the “constitutional decade” is highly positive. Among many other innovations, the Lisbon Treaty provides for a renovated political structure, with the creation of the permanent President of the European Council and the High Representative for Foreign Affairs, clarification of the distribution of powers between Brussels and the Member States, the inclusion with full legal force of the Charter of Fundamental Rights, recognition of the European Union’s single legal personality, the superseding of the internal division into “pillars” based on different areas of Community action, the extension of the Community method into the areas of justice, security and freedom, the extension of qualified majority voting and co-decision , the promotion of greater

institutional capacity in foreign affairs and defense, etc. The objectives established in the Laeken Declaration have been both met and surpassed.

What we find upon closure of this “constitutional moment” is therefore that, despite the failure to achieve ratification of the Constitutional Treaty, the situation is one of greater opportunity than might have appeared from the public opinion and the media at certain stages in the procedure. It appears that future development will take the route indicated by those who defended the notion that the European Constitution is already established through the current Treaties. This includes in particular, interaction between the constitutionalisms of the Member States and the European institutions within the framework of an integration process which includes the local, regional, national and supranational levels (“multi-level constitutionalism”).

Although the idea of the Constitution once again took on the dimensions of a quasi-existential political decision during the “constitutional decade”, we may ask ourselves whether the implicit identification of constitutionalization and integration will remain valid in future years. It is clear that the Union has managed to redefine its objectives through the constitutional debate. This re-definition of the Union’s mission in terms of “European values” and its contribution to a globalized world might be one of the greatest achievements of the constitutional debate. The emphasis on the mission of promoting values now clearly defined as “European” – i.e. the “rule of law”, multilateralism, the consolidation of human rights and democracy worldwide – was certainly more clearly expressed in the preamble of the Constitutional Treaty and the Charter of Fundamental Rights. However, the essence of this self-definition remains present in a significant number of articles of the Lisbon Treaty. The objectives of peace, reconciliation and economic prosperity to be found at the basis of the original Treaties, took on the form, as from Maastricht, of a more specific catalogue of universalist objectives of a civic-republican design.

The key experience behind this re-affirmation of the objectives of the Union as an entity promoting human rights, democratic freedoms and multi-lateral cooperation in the world was the Eastern enlargement. This process, which has at times been referred to as “Europeanization”, i.e. the enlargement of the Union’s area of political stability and economic prosperity as an instrument of democratization, acted as a trigger to the Union’s new universalist commitment. The extension of the positive

results of European integration - peace, reconciliation, political stability and economic prosperity – to the Eastern European countries which emerged following the collapse of the Soviet Empire, heightened awareness of a new European “mission” in the world and re-affirmed the legitimacy of the Union throughout the period concluding with the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century. The future will now be determined by the ambivalence implicit in this European “mission”, reflected in the tensions reigning between a certain degree of moralism and rhetoric on the one hand, and the pragmatism in the use of resources on the other, between the unconditional goal of passing on the benefits of the European experience - supranationalism, multi-lateral cooperation, a specific balance between economic competition and solidarity- to the rest of the world, and the interests and realities behind international relations. Of course this new challenge covers not only the ambitions of emerging powers – China in particular, although also India, Russia and Brazil – but also the respective perceptions and potential cultural differences.

The second problem which the future holds is an internal one, and has already been referred to very briefly. The text of the Constitutional Treaty envisaged a “dual legitimacy” of citizens and Member States. Significantly, this idea was not maintained in the Lisbon Treaty. In parallel to the rejection of the inclusion of references to the symbols of integration (the flag, the hymn, Europe Day), there were objections also to the inclusion of a specific clause in the Treaty formalizing the principle of primacy of Community Law over national laws, a fundamental principle in the relations between the Member States and the Union, developed under the protection of the Court of Justice. Together with the citizen’s initiative and the participation of national parliaments in the legislative procedure through the new early warning mechanism – which were both included in the Lisbon Treaty - recognition of the primacy principle and of the symbols could have helped to consolidate the concept of European citizenship and to reduce the democratic deficit which continues to be perceived in the Union. Along with the global projection of Europe, the need for European citizens to be capable of accompanying the integration process with their own explicit support is the other great challenge to be tackled in the forthcoming years.

In short, against a backdrop characterized by the current economic downturn and a profound transformation of the political and economic *status quo* worldwide, the progressive application of the Lisbon Treaty may imply advancement in terms of the

dynamic of the Union's integration, albeit at the *expense* of the Constitutional Treaty. The institutional reforms introduced by the Treaty of Lisbon – many of which are also, strictly speaking, “constitutional” reforms – confirm the trend towards a political structure for the Union which is neither federal nor intergovernmental. It is rather a unique integration model, achieved through the interaction of national and European components, and which conforms to a “multi-layered constitutional structure”. This institutional and constitutional pluralism, supported by the increased efficiency expected to result from the Lisbon Treaty, should therefore make it possible to adopt the new measures and actions demanded by the citizens of Europe in relation to energy and climate change, foreign policy, security and defence policy, economic regulation and cooperation, consolidation of the area of freedom, security and justice, etc.

Redefining the Union in terms of global objectives has shifted its new horizon in terms of legitimacy towards the specific mission of Europe in the world. The fear of globalization, immigration and enlargement were three of the reasons given by French and Dutch voters for their rejection of the Constitutional Treaty. The challenges facing the Union in the coming decades are to successfully address these three issues: Europe's contribution – through its values and model – to global governance; to find an integration model for regular immigrants and alternatives to irregular immigration in the perspective of the big demographic change; and to come up with coherent solutions to the questions of future enlargement and membership applications, beginning with the problem of the accession negotiations with Turkey.

2.) Adequacy of the Jean Monnet programme to current European integration objectives: to bring the Union closer to its citizens and to reinforce the role and presence of Europe in the world.

There seem to be two general objectives which are necessary for the Union's development in the coming years: to obtain greater support from its citizens, and to reinforce the role and presence of Europe in the world. There are lines of development which are common to both these objectives. As the Union increases its contribution to global governance and builds up the capacity to play a greater role on the world stage, its internal legitimacy will also increase.

The European Union must be more capable of communicating the added value present in its actions, both outwardly and inwardly. The Union's substantial contribution is present at very different levels, since virtually all European Union policies comprise a significant foreign dimension; this is most immediately visible in the areas of common foreign and security policy, development cooperation and *humanitarian aid*, common commercial policy and participation in European Security and Defence Policy operations.

Within this context, the relevance of education and culture to the Union's external dimension will also increase over the coming decades. Globalization and the emergence of new powers, the impact of the Islamic world on security policy, and the very need for self-affirmation by Europe in a world in which its influence is declining, are factors which make the "soft" tools of diplomacy ever more important. The intercultural dialogue now lies at the very heart of international relations. It has been said that "political unity in Europe cannot be truly European, its future will not develop and enrich the legacy of its past, unless it contributes to improving the materialization in the world of a spirit which, even through its ancient or modern imperialist deviations, has always aimed to be Universalistic and cosmopolitan" (Bernard Bourgeois).

The big question at this point is precisely what is to be understood by "universalist". Specifically, does this mean universalism in the sense of "Europeanization", as the text quoted above seems to suggest? Or does it mean a dialogue with other world cultures in which it is to be hoped that the "humanity" of the European experience, its omni-comprehensive sense, will eventually be affirmed? Clearly, the problem is that the strength of convictions – and in this area, Europe at times displays an almost unhealthy weakness in terms of self-criticism – also depends to a no lesser extent on the realities of power. However, there is no other continent whose legacy includes a commitment towards universalization as pronounced as that of Europe. This universalizing commitment and reality have made their mark worldwide, through the expansion of its science, its culture and its law. Paradoxically, Bernard Bourgeois maintains that "a Europe which devotes itself to the realization of Law cannot but wish for power", if only to make possible a universal community based on Law; and in our era, this requires essential participation in the control of globalization, i.e. in the design of global governance. With these words, Bourgeois echoes the proposal made by Pascal Lamy, who declared that "Europe should become a genuine laboratory of

controlled globalization” What this implies, from the perspective of the European commitment to Law, is the conversion of such Law into universal law, or, in a more open and integral sense, into universalising Law.

Once again, the external and internal objectives converge. The “constitutional decade” has lain bare European citizens’ “fears” of the loss of their roots and the dissolution of local or national identities, owing to the “four horsemen of the Apocalypse” created by worldwide convergence and competition: globalization, enlargement, immigration and interculturalism. What these exaggerated fears often show is a significant level of confusion, and that there is a need for more information and education for citizens with regard to the European Union. Whereas in some countries, the Union is perceived as a phantasmagorical entity, the Trojan horse of the most ferocious type of capitalism and uncontrolled liberalization, lacking social policies, in others, it is viewed as exactly the opposite: a terrifying interventionist, centralizing monster.

On top of this, the economic downturn has made it apparent that solutions continue to be national or global, but not necessarily European. Yet in this respect also, the downturn is proving right those who argue that there is a need for more Europe. It is not only Community cooperation which is the paradigm of any form of cooperation internationally. The European model of a mixed economy, with a greater balance in the relation between the State and the market than that existing in other parts of the world, and with higher levels of welfare protection, has more than proved its worth. Similarly, the debate on the creation of European regulators for the banking sector, the telecommunications sector, or the energy sector, clearly shows that the efficiency of any global governance design necessarily depends on regional cooperation. If the Jean Monnet Programme intends to efficiently address the challenges facing the Union, its objectives for the coming years will need to be consistent with these two major priorities of the Union: information and education of citizens on the grounds that justify the existence of the European Union and its actions; and contribution to the globalization process and the design of global governance through academic research, exchanges of teaching staff and value creation networks. In short, the Jean Monnet Programme needs to further open up to the outside, by promoting collaboration with international academic centers of excellence.

3) The commitment to excellence: a pilot centre of excellence at Harvard University.

The “universalization” of the Jean Monnet Programme (“JMP”) is the correct route to take, consistent with the universalization criteria of the European Union. However, in view of the limited resources available, in opening up to the outside world, we need to act selectively, based on a series of criteria such as representativeness and geographical and cultural diversity, but above all based on excellence. The future of the Jean Monnet Programme depends primarily on excellence, and on the programme being linked to centers of recognized excellence in Europe and elsewhere. In fact, this trend runs parallel to those witnessed in the Member States themselves in response to the perception – confirmed by successive international rankings – that European Universities, save for a few specific exceptions – are no longer among the top universities in the world. The search for models of excellence through specialization, selective financing, concentration of transnational resources in high performance centers etc., is right now an area of focus in university planning in all the main European countries.

In this respect, the challenge in terms of excellence runs parallel to the challenges with respect to mobility, exchange and the development of high quality clusters. Through the creation of ever more selective and more specific transnational groups, we need to strive towards the continued integration of best practices, the fostering of competitiveness and academic innovation and, in short, the promotion of excellence. The Jean Monnet Programme should play an essential role in meeting these objectives, thanks to and through its specific attributes and its focus on achieving the highest levels of academic prestige and scientific contribution.

The Jean Monnet Programme took a significant step when the programme's various actions and secondary actions were opened up to third countries. The extension of the Jean Monnet Programme through modules, the appointment of professors and the creation of Jean Monnet chairs and centers of excellence, research projects, the development of academic networks, communication projects etc., have significantly contributed to the Union' objectives . Together with the Erasmus programme, the Jean Monnet Programme is possibly one of the European Union's programmes with the greatest impact and influence, precisely because it focuses on the university education sector.

In parallel, the Jean Monnet Programme, reflecting the aforementioned need for a firm commitment to excellence, has recently entered into collaboration agreements with European Centers of recognized standing, including the European University Institute in Florence, the College of Europe in Brussels, and the National School of Administration in France. Permanent collaboration channels have also been established with universities in America and other parts of the world. The creation and development of pilot centers at the American Universities which usually feature at the top of international rankings should be a priority in this context. These “third generation” agreements should be followed by others, in order to set up a network of eight to ten centers of excellence around the world, with a presence in those locations which are of particular relevance from the global perspective. The five continents will necessarily need to be included, and in the medium term, the creation of centers of excellence in Africa will need to be pursued. In particular, the agreement with Harvard University could serve to establish a Jean Monnet pilot centre of excellence at global level. There are currently Jean Monnet centers of excellence in several United States' Universities. These centers must be developed, and they must be joined by other top-level universities, while continuing to promote the creation of networks.

The most obvious difficulty – although not necessarily the most laborious – is the budgetary aspect. It may be the moment to consider the possibility of the Jean Monnet Programme being financed in a way which does not restrict it to European Union funds. There is a currently growing debate with respect to the sustainability of Universities and the need for more agile forms of academic government in a closer contact with society, and it may be the time for the Jean Monnet Programme to consider the possibility of taking aboard other players, public or private (in the latter case, Foundations and companies).

Lastly, it is essential that the Jean Monnet Programme should remain a Community programme, within the framework of activities linked to the European Commission, but as an independent university programme with sufficient funding. The current shortage of funds is making it very difficult for the Jean Monnet Programme to meet its highly ambitious objectives. In relation to the next “generation” of programmes in the area of education, as from 2014, it is important that relations between the Jean Monnet Programme and the lifelong-learning programme and Erasmus Mundus and Tempus be specifically established, and that the question of the legal basis is clarified.

In short, the future of the Jean Monnet Programme will require a clear focus on excellence and quality, universalization and, at the same time, performance of its educational and informational duties, in order to bring the European Union closer to its citizens

VIII. Conclusions

Odile Quintin

José-Maria Gil-Robles

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20 YEARS OF SUPPORT FOR EUROPEAN INTEGRATION STUDIES: FROM THE JEAN MONNET ACTION TO THE JEAN MONNET PROGRAMME

Voilà vingt ans désormais, qu'au travers de l'Action Jean Monnet, se donne à voir et à vivre une Europe faite d'**ouverture** à la connaissance et au monde ; celle que Jean Monnet lui-même appelait de ses vœux.

- o **Ouverture à la connaissance, d'abord.** Nous en sommes plus que jamais convaincus. L'ignorance est le terreau de la résistance à l'idée européenne tandis que la connaissance emporte la conviction. Ce livre nous l'ont donné à voir. L'Action Jean Monnet rapproche milieux académiques et corps diplomatique, fins lettrés et éminents scientifiques, administrateurs chevronnés et remarquables politiques. Elle les rassemble – autour du Projet européen - dans une même recherche de dialogue fructueux et d'échange critique.
- o **Ouverture au monde, ensuite.** Avec ce 20^{ème} anniversaire, nous célébrons une Europe qui trouve son élan dans des relations extérieures dynamiques¹²². L'Action Jean Monnet en est l'un des fers de lance, présente dans 62 pays et sur les cinq continents, soutenue par un travail académique et d'information d'une qualité et d'une vitalité remarquable. L'ouverture internationale de l'Action Jean Monnet est aussi relayée par d'autres programmes européens

¹²² Avec plus d'une centaine de centres d'excellence (145), près de mille chaires (835) et deux mille modules et cours permanents "Jean Monnet" (2058), l'action Jean Monnet est présente sur cinq continents et 62 pays (27 EM et 35 autres pays).

tels *Erasmus Mundus* ou *Tempus*. C'est une ligne de force de notre "Agenda pour la Culture" et la ligne d'horizon de l'Union.

Toutes les contributions rassemblées dans ce livre ont été d'une densité intellectuelle et humaine remarquable.

The views and positions that have filled these two days struck me for their intellectual honesty, boldness and brilliance. This is exactly what we need, now that Europe and the world are stepping into a new phase in history.

This corresponds to the message given by President Barroso, who chose our conference to present his programme for the next five years – and we should all be proud of it.

The current global recession is a turning point for the geopolitical balance in Europe and the world; when this crisis is over, we will not return to the *status quo ante*.

This is a tremendous opportunity for those who are nimble enough to adapt to the new situation. This is an opportunity for our Union to proceed along the road to integration and for Europe to strengthen its position on the international scene.

Europe is already a model to the world in many ways: President Barroso cited health care and the welfare state; but we can add other domains as well closer to the policies I deal with daily.

Many from around the world look up at Europe for its heritage and for the excellence of its cultural production. Many regard our united Europe as the single most important geopolitical innovation since the end of the war.

And just as well; because – half a century later – the Union is no longer a bold experiment; the beautiful idea is turning into a reality.

We've had our ups and downs – of course – but at the end of the day our Union is the only successful attempt at managing globalisation, albeit on a regional scale.

What does managing globalisation mean? If you ask me, it means channelling its forces so that they are made to serve our social, environmental, and cultural objectives.

No European country is large enough or strong enough to steer its own course; the Union is the only hope we have to determine our future in full autonomy. It is our only hope to defend our interests and uphold the values that are so dear to us.

Identifying these interests and values, debating them, and finding the best means to fight for their affirmation are some of the things the Jean Monnet network can do best.

I want to thank again to all the authors of this book for their intellectual and political contribution to the European cause. Their input confirms once again the outstanding quality of the work done in the Jean Monnet Programme, and your vital role as independent, critics, commentators and disseminators. Above all, the Jean Monnet community is a living organism that continues to evolve; let me say a few words on the future. First, I would like to assure you that you will continue to be a player in the European Union's dialogue with its Eastern European neighbours.

The programme has been a real actor for change in this area – as we saw during the conference discussions on how Jean Monnet helped prepare Central and Eastern European countries for European Union accession.

Building on this, I see scope for a renewed role for the programme within the Neighbourhood Policy and the recently launched Eastern Partnership (EaP).

Second, the programme has a major role to play in making the European Union's role as an international player better understood, by bringing knowledge about the European model around the world, as we did when we opened up Jean Monnet world-wide in 2001.

We can add to this understanding, and increase the impact of the programme even further, by extending it to countries not yet in the network, as well as through stronger cooperation between the Jean Monnet Centres and other venues of excellence world-wide.

And third, Europe continues to face challenges on many fronts. The Jean Monnet programme is an invaluable source of independent ideas and unique expertise.

The European Union will want to continue to draw on your inspiration to help us design the right kind of policies for the right kind of Europe.

These are just some of the pointers we have for the future of Jean Monnet – a programme that can only grow in its twin role as public diplomacy and global think-tank of the Union on the path towards a Europe of solidarity, peace and prosperity.

José-Maria Gil-Robles

Former President of the European Parliament;
President of the European University Council for the Jean Monnet Programme;
President of the Jean Monnet Foundation; Jean Monnet Chair;
Director of the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid



FINAL REMARKS

Agradezco muy sinceramente a la Sra Quintin su compromiso con el programa Jean Monnet y haber tomado la iniciativa de organizar esta conferencia conmemorativa. Su éxito demuestra la oportunidad de abordar el tema y el acierto del enfoque. Sería injusto, por otra parte, no reconocer que una conferencia tan importante como esta requiere un esfuerzo organizativo impresionante, que el reducido equipo dirigido por Doña Belén Bernaldo de Quirós ha llevado a cabo de forma admirable.

La riqueza y el tono de las intervenciones y de los debates durante este día y medio de trabajo nos han permitido constatar la solidez del vínculo que une al mundo académico y a la Comisión Europea frente al reto y objetivo común de difundir el conocimiento sobre la integración de nuestra Unión.

La Acción Jean Monnet, lanzada como acción piloto destinada en principio a una corta vida, llena hoy de orgullo a sus diversos mentores al haberse convertido en un programa comunitario con la misma especificidad y vigencia que sus hermanos Erasmus, Leonardo o Comenius.

Es el justo reconocimiento a la importancia del proceso de construcción europea: fenómeno único en la historia y objetivo de frecuente atención fuera de nuestras fronteras. Hoy en día, el programa Jean Monnet se concentra en estimular a escala

nacional, la excelencia académica; a escala europea, la reflexión y el debate académicos sobre la evolución de la Europa comunitaria; y a escala internacional, la difusión de la imagen de la Unión en el mundo y de las razones que la inspiran.

La Acción se abrió en 1990 a los 15 Estados Miembros, en 1993 a Polonia y Hungría y en 1997 a la República Checa. Desde entonces y hasta hoy, los profesores Jean Monnet han acompañado activamente la andadura de sus países hacia la ampliación, implantando y difundiendo el conocimiento sobre la integración europea en el ámbito universitario, y facilitando indirectamente la transposición del acervo comunitario.

En 2001, la Acción se convirtió en la primera actividad comunitaria de la DG de Educación y Cultura totalmente abierta a las universidades, profesores y estudiantes del mundo. Y en 2006, el reconocimiento internacional de la red y el crecimiento continuo de cursos sobre integración europea en los cinco continentes, permitió transformar la Acción en un programa comunitario en el marco del programa de aprendizaje a lo largo de la vida.

El abanico de actividades del programa Jean Monnet es amplio y su balance, impresionante. Aquí se ha ido haciendo y precisando estos días y sería impertinente repetirlo. Se trata de un instrumento formidable de reflexión y difusión y creo indispensable precisar que si la etiqueta Jean Monnet da credibilidad con respecto al conocimiento en profundidad de la construcción europea, ello se debe tanto a la calidad de los profesores como a haber estado basada desde su inicio en un respeto escrupuloso de la libertad académica y en una búsqueda activa de opiniones críticas e independientes de las que el Consejo Universitario es el máximo representante.

Señoras y Señores,

Cada año la Comisión Europea reúne bajo el epígrafe de conferencias Jean Monnet a una amplia representación de la red de profesores, verdadero vivero de conocimiento sobre las cuestiones europeas.

El Comisario Figel' nos recordó ayer en su discurso que la reflexión Jean Monnet sobre el diálogo europeo lanzada en 2002 y perfilada en sucesivas conferencias, desembocó ulteriormente en el Año Europeo 2008.

Asimismo, en la lógica establecida de acompañar desde la academia el proceso de decisión política, varias conferencias y grupos temáticos Jean Monnet han seguido la evolución de los Tratados entre los que hay que citar la conferencia Jean Monnet sobre las cuestiones de género en el proyecto de Constitución Europea cuyas recomendaciones fueron plasmadas en el texto de la Constitución, con la consiguiente satisfacción de los ponentes.

Hay que reconocer que las conferencias Jean Monnet se han convertido en un referente internacional. Una de las claves de su éxito radica en reunir a académicos de alto nivel con políticos europeos y nacionales y miembros representativos de la sociedad civil. Otra de las claves es contar con el apoyo del Parlamento Europeo que no ignora que el papel desempeñado por los profesores Jean Monnet en la transmisión de conocimientos sobre la integración europea ha sido determinante en los países fundadores.

Ciudadanos y futuro

Analicemos por un instante el contexto internacional. El final de la primera década del siglo XXI se anuncia bajo serias dificultades y desafíos para Europa, de los cuales algunos influirán en el devenir del proceso de construcción europea, siendo determinantes para el futuro de los ciudadanos de la UE: el desempleo y la crisis, el desarrollo sostenible, el equilibrio demográfico, la solidaridad social o las respuestas éticas ante los avances de las ciencias de la vida: todas ellas son cuestiones a escala europea.

En este contexto, contamos con la red Jean Monnet para seguir realizando un aporte significativo gracias a su doble capacidad de identificar pistas de acción y de explicar al ciudadano el impacto de la construcción europea en la vida diaria. Diré más: misión fundamental de los profesores Jean Monnet ha de ser explicar la filosofía en que se inspira la Unión Europea. Para aceptarla o para rechazarla, que para eso están la libertad de cátedra y la libertad de opinión; pero explicándola como

se explican los fundamentos de cualquier sistema constitucional nacional, que sin conocerlos resulta incomprensible.

Los debates sobre el Proyecto de Constitución europea, primero, y sobre el Tratado de Lisboa, después, así como las campañas electorales de 2004 y 2009 han puesto de manifiesto una extendida ignorancia sobre los fundamentos de la integración y sobre sus retos y logros. Ignorancia que pesa como una losa sobre la participación ciudadana.

Por tanto, una de las prioridades de la acción Jean Monnet debe ser a explicar Europa a los ciudadanos europeos a través de las enseñanzas, las actividades de los Centros de Excelencia o la interacción con los medios u otros sectores de la sociedad civil. Mi experiencia en la vida pública europea y en la vida académica me ha permitido constatar que la red Jean Monnet ocupa una situación privilegiada para llenar esa laguna.

Así pues, tres ejes de desarrollo son necesarios para garantizar la continuidad en el éxito del programa Jean Monnet:

Primero, un refuerzo presupuestario al capítulo destinado a las enseñanzas que cuenta con sólo 4 millones de Euros por año y por ello deja fuera de la lista de proyectos seleccionados a un número demasiado importante de buenas candidaturas e induce una discriminación en el acceso al programa Jean Monnet con respecto a sus pares en el Lifelong Learning Programme (LLP). Pienso que este problema debe enmendarse rápidamente con el acuerdo del Comité del programa.

Segundo, las actividades actuales deben ser completadas y reforzadas con un seguimiento del impacto de las mismas, especialmente en lo que respecta a la impregnación de los conocimientos sobre Europa en la sociedad y particularmente en la comunidad estudiantil, y también con una mayor apertura a diversas iniciativas como el programa "EP to Campus", lanzado por el Parlamento Europeo.

Tercero, hay que pactar desde ahora el compromiso de mantener un programa Jean Monnet independiente en el horizonte 2014-2021. La construcción europea depende en gran parte de la especificidad y el reconocimiento de las instituciones de la Unión a los estudios, investigación y reflexión sobre el proceso de construcción europea.

Los próximos meses serán ricos en reflexión sobre estos tres ejes. Mi colega Péter Balázs completará desde su experiencia política y académica esta visión común sobre el programa.

Péter Balázs

Minister of Foreign Affairs
of Hungary

Director of the EU
Enlargement Centre
at the Central European
University



20 YEARS OF SUPPORT FOR EUROPEAN INTEGRATION STUDIES

Twenty years after

All along 2009 memories of the marvelous year of 1989 are being recalled and commemorated. Events such as the abolition of the Iron Curtain on the former demarcation line between Hungary and Austria on 27th June, establishing the PHARE Programme for helping systemic changes in Poland and Hungary on the G-7 Summit in Paris on 14th July, opening of the border for East German refugees in Hungary at midnight of 11th September and so on until the demolition of the Berlin wall. I can make reference to my own story connected with European integration studies which preceded all these important events. It begins with the entry into force of the first ever Trade and Cooperation Agreement between Hungary and the European Communities on 1st December 1988. I had been in contact for some years with my colleague and friend, Professor Marc Maresceau from the Ghent University. We discovered rather quickly that one of the many provisions about cooperation of the Agreement was dealing with promoting contacts between universities. Without any hesitation, we addressed a letter to the European Commission asking for financing of a joint seminar of Belgian and Hungarian students in Ghent. To our greatest satisfaction the request was immediately honored. On my side, I organized in Budapest a rapid selection of the Hungarian participants with the active help of AIESEC Hungary, the national basis of the world wide network of students of economy. The requirements were for applicants to submit a short essay on one of the proposed topics on European integration in English or French language and

defend their papers before the Selection Committee consisting of three students and myself. All members of the jury gave points to various aspects like content, presentation, foreign language skills etc. At the end we selected the ten best performing students who got the highest scores. A few weeks later, on 15th March the joint student seminar took place. We were co-chairing the event with Marc Maresceau in the beautiful Aula of the University of Ghent and enjoyed the excellent presentations of the students. Those young Hungarians who attended the Ghent Seminar in 1989 are today important decision makers and problem solvers. One of them is an official of the European Commission, another is working in Paris at the Hungarian Mission of Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, a third one is the general Director of an international bank in Budapest etc. Those few days in Ghent left a lifelong impact on the professional lives and personal memories of those young scholars. This can constitute a very salient narrative case-study of the European integration studies projects and their importance.

20 years after, in 2009 we again need engaged and well-prepared problem solvers in the European Union. There are many reasons for this. First of all, 2009 is an election year, a year of the renewal of Union institutions. The European Parliament was newly elected a few months ago. A new European Commission is to be nominated soon, before the end of the year. We expect strong, respectable and highly efficient Commissioners who are able to propose adequate solutions to the very complex problems ahead of us and implement efficient measures responding to the common problems of Europe. The European Union has spent the last decade with engaging in two great enterprises: Eastern enlargement, on the one hand, and constitution making on the other. In the end, both were successful, and yielded important lessons, which are still awaiting analysis and proper comprehension. As far as the phenomenon of the so-called 'big enlargement' of 2004 and 2007 is concerned, the 12 new Member States have fundamentally changed the character and the functioning of the Union. Constitution making was also a long process from the European Councils of Nice (2000) and Laeken (2001) until finalizing the new Lisbon Treaty after the successful Berlin Summit in March 2007. At half way some 'road accidents' threatened to halt and arrest the hopes for a few years and the final phase of ratification ahead of us may hide surprises, too.

In the meantime new challenges emerged and occupy the forefront of discussions and actions both at national and Union levels. Energy supply of the enlarged European Union has become a burning issue. One of the possible avenues toward success is the establishment of a real common market on that field also, based on the interconnection of national networks. This is a precondition of mutual assistance in case of need, of speaking with one voice with external suppliers and of increasing the security of prices and deliveries. Climate change has brought new questions to the forefront as well. No national government is able to solve world wide problems alone, at the same time the global approach has been missing the necessary political support on behalf of important stakeholders because of divergent national economic interests. Europe is large enough to act for its own sake and can provide the rest of the world with a positive example. The latest challenge is the global financial and economic crisis threatening the stability of our economies, monetary systems, employment and growth, just to name a few areas. These are important examples where national and European Union decision makers may need the support of academics, specifically of the Jean Monnet network. Two other subjects which are of great importance for European integration must be isolated. Political leaders would certainly appreciate academic support in the form of bold analyses and unusual proposals because of the complex and multi faceted nature of the problems. The first is the post-Lisbon governance of the European Union; the second is the problem of solidarity in- and outside the Union.

Post-Lisbon governance

The list of the integrated government functions in the European Union has grown long during more than half a century time of acting together. However, the number of the primary actors of integration – national governments – has been increasing even faster. By any analysis, based on the activities of the Ministerial Council, on the segmentation of the European Commission or on the internal structure of the European Parliament, integrated governance is embracing about 18 functions. A few years ago, the number of Ministerial Councils was sharply reduced to 9, which does not reflect properly all the sectors where the Union has competences. (With the Lisbon Treaty, after the separation of the Foreign Affairs Council and the General Affairs Council, this number has changed to 10.) In parallel, the crowd of government actors in the European Union has increased to 27 today and growing further with future enlargements. The internal structures of Union governance are based on the

longer list: that of the actors and not on the shorter one, the functions. Member States constitute the building blocks of integration and not joint government activities. National colors, names and representatives of the Member States are not only determining the organization of working groups, Coreper, Ministerial Councils and of the European Council, but country contours are also visible in the European Commission ('one Commissioner per Member State'), the European Court, the Court of Auditors, the Committee of the Regions etc. The Union is deeply segmented by 'national' interests at a time where we would need united will and common action more than ever.

Among the numerous players new group dynamics emerged. A striking illustration of this is the number of bilateral Ambassadors between and among Member States which has jumped from 30 in EC-6 to 210 in EU-15 and recently to 702 in EU-27. A visible segmentation between 'big' and 'small' Member States has come to the surface. Discussions became longer and more complex with the varieties of 27 national interests. One of the worrisome results of all those changes is the crystallization of the European Union's position on important questions in a divided, polarized phase instead of searching for one single common denominator at the price of reasonable compromises, as before. Examples are numerous, for instance the recognition of the state of Kosovo by 22 of the 27 Member States and refusing of recognition by 5.

Another deficiency of European governance has its roots in the traditional structure of the Ministerial Council. All the 10 formations of the Council are calling together representatives of the 27 Member States according to separated sectoral governance functions. In this structure various national positions meet around the table of one single sector, like agriculture, transport or education. Trans-sectoral governance, which is daily practice in any state and a prerequisite of solving multifaceted government problems, has few chances in the European Union. Only Coreper and the European Council have the privilege of dealing with and solving of trans-sectoral problems. Ministerial Councils and all working groups are harmonizing national interests around one main subject of sectoral, sub-sectoral or even more specific, technical character. This shortcoming has become more evident because of the multifold nature of inherent interrelations of problems, such as those between energy and climate change or among cohesion, growth and employment.

Academics should help the European Union and national decision makers in finding new approaches and appropriate solutions to these – and other – problems. Some of the recent attempts of the Union encourage creative thinking. First, the complex, trans-sectoral approach to long term projects like 'Europe 2020'. New challenges have more and more a multi-sectoral character. If we take the right approach, having in mind all the aspects, European Union projects would increase internal cohesion and promote trans-sectoral thinking and action. Another consequence would be the building across the Union of Trans-European Networks (TENs) of transport, energy, telecommunication and others. Such multinational networks have several advantages: they are connecting Member States with each other, at the same time they are 'European' in the widest sense of the word and can be extended beyond the external borders of the European Union. The inclusion of the new neighbors into our networks of roads, railways or energy is certainly less contested than their accession to the European Union as full members. The third new device is macro-regional strategy: after the success of the Baltic Sea Strategy of the European Union the Danube Strategy is already in the preparatory phase. Macro-regional strategies represent a convenient dimension between the overall European Union-wide actions and individual Member States. All the three trans-sectoral models offer the advantage of including candidate countries and new neighbors of the European Union without formal membership.

Solidarity

The other important aspect of integration I would like to bring to attention of the Jean Monnet professors is solidarity. The degree of solidarity is a key question of the internal cohesion of any community. In the European context solidarity can be analyzed in three main dimensions. The first is the relationship in the enlarged European Union between 'old' and 'new' Member States. Deep solidarity on behalf of the EU-15 towards the new members has been manifested above all by the fact that enlargement could take place. The 'old' Member States were ready to accept 12 new countries as equal members of the European Union. A personal example of this was the reception of the representatives of the new Member States, which was really warm and friendly in 2003-2004 in the European Parliament, in various Council structures, like ministers' meetings, Coreper and working groups and in the European Commission, too. The most convincing proof of solidarity is, of course,

sharing the European Union budget with the new members as all of them were net recipients at the beginning. Unfortunately, not all the new members have understood the norms of community solidarity in the European Union and the requirement of historical reconciliation in parallel with European Union entry. Some of them made distasteful public remarks on neighbors in connection with historical conflicts. Such references have no political or moral justification after European Union accession.

The second dimension of solidarity should be testified between and among the new Member States. Most of them are close neighbors of each other bound together with historical and geographical ties. In the run up for European Union membership, in parallel with systemic changes, the new democracies had little time and attention for dealing with their neighbours and putting an end to nationalist conflicts inherited from old times. On the contrary, some of the new political parties tried to play the nationalist card in order to collect votes from extremists or just from people attached to national values and traditions oppressed in the Communist era. However, in the European Union it is unacceptable for any responsible politician to call another new European Union Member State a “threat”, a “danger” or an “enemy” as it happened recently. We should focus more attention to relations between our new Member States, at least as much as to their compliance with European Union consumer protection or other rules.

The third question of solidarity can be raised in the relationship between the enlarged Union and its new neighbors. Here again solidarity has multiple faces: first of all, historical reconciliation between people and cultures on the two sides of the new external European Union border economic and after that a wide range of aid and cooperation. The hardest test of solidarity for the European Union is to accept “all European States” as potential candidates for European Union membership in accordance with Article 49. of the Treaty on European Union. Of course, eligibility is one question and the preparedness of the candidates is another. But we should prepare the Union itself for further enlargements as well, if we want the European Union to be a dynamic and credible centre of our Continent. Good governance and increased solidarity together could contribute to the efforts to render the European Union a strong and efficient actor in Europe and in the World.

ANNEXES

Programme of the Jean Monnet conference 20 Years of Support for European Integration Studies: From the Jean Monnet Action to the Jean Monnet Programme, Brussels September 2009

Programme de la conférence Jean Monnet 20 ans de soutien aux études en intégration européenne: De l'Action Jean Monnet au Programme Jean Monnet, Bruxelles Septembre 2009

**20 Years of Support for European Integration Studies:
From the Jean Monnet Action to the Jean Monnet**

European Commission, DG Education and Culture, Jean Monnet Programme
Charlemagne building, Brussels

Brussels, 7-8 September 2009

Monday, 7th September

8:00 Registration of the participants

OPENING SESSION

9:00 Mr. **José Manuel Barroso**, President of the European Commission

9:30 Mr. **Ján Figel'**, Member of the European Commission responsible for Education, Training, Culture and Youth

SESSION 1: 20 Years of transformation in central and eastern Europe: the Jean Monnet action as a tool for EU accession

10:00 – 11:15

Chairperson: Mr. **Jacek Saryusz-Wolski**, Member of the European Parliament and former Chairman of its Foreign Affairs Committee; former Minister for European Affairs of Poland; Chairman of the Board of the College of Europe in Natolin; former Jean Monnet Professor at the Collegium Civitas Warsaw

Speakers: Mr. **Erhard Busek**, Rector and Jean Monnet Chair at the Salzburg University of Applied Sciences; Chairman of the Institute for the Danube Region and Central Europe; Coordinator of the Southeast European Cooperative Initiative; President of the European Forum Alpbach; former Special Coordinator of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe; former Vice Chancellor of Austria; former Special Representative of the Austrian Government for the Enlargement of the European Union

Mr. **Vilenas Vadapalas**, Judge at the Court of First Instance of the European Communities; former Jean Monnet Chair at the University of Vilnius; former President of the Lithuanian European Union Studies Association

Mr. **Jiri Zemanek**, Jean Monnet Chair at the Charles University in Prague; member of the Council on legislation of the Czech Government

Mr. **Vinko Kandzija**, Jean Monnet Chair at the University of Rijeka; former Ambassador of the Republic of Croatia

SESSION 2: The global Jean Monnet network: enhancing the international visibility and understanding of the European Union

11:15 - 12:45

Chairperson: Mr. **Martin Holland**, Jean Monnet Chair and Director of the National Centre for Research on Europe (a Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence) at the University of Canterbury in New Zealand; Vice-President of EUSA Asia-Pacific

Speakers: Ms. **Olga Butorina**, Jean Monnet Chair and Head of the European Integration Department at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations in Russia
Mr. **Fernando Laiseca**, Jean Monnet Chair at the Adolfo Ibanez University in Chile; President of European Community Studies Association Latin America
Mr. **Woosik Moon**, Jean Monnet Chair at Seoul National University in South Korea
Mr. **Gerrit Olivier**, Professor and Director of the Centre for European Studies at the University of Johannesburg; President European Community Studies Association South Africa
Ms. **Alberta Sbragia**, Jean Monnet Chair and Director of the European Union Center of Excellence at the University of Pittsburgh; past Chair of European Community Studies Association-United States
Mr. **Xinning Song**, Jean Monnet Chair at Renmin University in Beijing, P.R. China; Senior Research Fellow at the Comparative Regional Integration Studies Programme of the United Nations University in Bruges
Mr. **Toshiro Tanaka**, Jean Monnet Chair and Director of the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence at Keio University in Japan; past President of EUSA Asia-Pacific
Ms. **Amy Verdun**, Jean Monnet Chair and Director of the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence at the University of Victoria in Canada

12:45 - 13:15 Debate on sessions 1 and 2

LUNCH

13:15 14:30 Standing lunch at Charlemagne

SESSION 3: The Jean Monnet network and the evolving European Union: accompanying the European Union's key policy choices

14:30 - 16:00 Enhancing European Union decision-making capacity and democracy: the impact of the constitutional evolution

Chairperson: Mr. **Yves Mény**, President of the European University Institute; former Director of the Robert Schuman Centre at the EUI; former Professor at the Universities of Rennes, Paris 2 and the Institut d'Etudes Politiques in Paris

Speakers: Mr. **Wolfgang Wessels**, Jean Monnet Chair at the University of Cologne; Chairperson of the Executive Board of the Institut für Europäische Politik and the Trans European Political Studies Association; former Director of Political and Administrative Studies at the College of Europe

Ms. **Lenka Rovna**, Jean Monnet Chair at the Charles University in Prague; Alternate Member of the European Convention on the Constitutional Treaty

15:15 - 16:00 Debate

16:00 - 17:30 [The world economic downturn and the role of the Euro](#)

Chairperson: Mr. **Tibor Palankai**, Jean Monnet Chair, Director of the European Study Center and former Rector at the Corvinus University of Budapest; Vice-President of Board of Directors of the Hungarian Development Bank

Speakers: Ms. **Blanche Soussi**, Jean Monnet Chair and the Director of the Institute of Law and Business Economics at the University of Lyon III; Former Member of the Panel of Economic and Monetary Experts of the European Parliament's Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs
Mr. **Ramon Tamames**, Jean Monnet Chair at the Autonomous University of Madrid

16:45 - 17:30 Debate

19:30 Conference Dinner at Hotel Husa Président Park

Tuesday, 8th September

9:30-11:00 [Migration, Euro – Mediterranean relations and intercultural dialogue](#)

Chairperson: Mr. **Enrique Banús**, Jean Monnet Chair and Director of the Masters in Cultural Management at the Universitat Internacional de Catalunya in Barcelona; President of the European Community Studies Association (European Community Studies Association)-World

Speakers: Ms: **Maria Grazia Melchionni**, Jean Monnet Chair at the University of Rome «La Sapienza»
Mr. **Peter G. Xuereb**, Jean Monnet Chair at the University of Malta, President of European Community Studies Association-Malta
Ms. **Elsbeth Guild**, Jean Monnet Chair of European Migration Law at the Radboud University of Nijmegen; Visiting Professor at the London School of Economics and Political Science and at the College of Europe; Teaching Fellow at King's College London; Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for European Policy Studies; Partner at Kingsley Napley solicitors

10:15 - 11:00 Debate

SESSION 4: [The Jean Monnet Action and the development of European integration studies](#)

11:00 – 12:30

Chairperson: Mr. **Paul Demaret**, Rector of the College of Europe; Jean Monnet Chair at the Université de Liège

Speakers: *History:* Ms. **Daniela Preda**, Jean Monnet Chair at the Facoltà di Scienze Politiche dell'Università di Genova; President of AUSE
Law: Mr. **Peter-Christian Müller-Graff**, Jean Monnet Chair and Director of the Institute for German and European Civil and Economic Law at the Ruprecht-Karls-University of Heidelberg; Professor at the College of Europe in Bruges and Natolin; President of the Arbeitskreis Europäische Integration
Political Science: Ms. **Helen Wallace**, Centennial Professor at the London School of Economics and Political Science; former Director of the Robert Schuman Centre at the European University Institute; former Jean Monnet Chair at the University of Sussex
International Relations: Mr. **Knud Erik Jørgensen**, Jean Monnet Chair at the University of Aarhus
Economics: Ms. **Tatyana Muravska**, Jean Monnet Chair at the University of Latvia; President of European Community Studies Association-Latvia

12:00 - 12:30 Debate

LUNCH

12:30 - 14:00 Standing lunch at Charlemagne

SESSION 5: Tracing the History of the Jean Monnet Programme
14:00 - 15:00

Moderator: Mr. **Manuel Porto**, Jean Monnet Chair and former Dean of the Law Faculty at the University of Coimbra; former President European Community Studies Association-World; former Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Budgets of the European Parliament

Speakers: Mr. **Jacques-René Rabier**, former Director of the Cabinet of Mr Jean Monnet; honorary Director General of the European Commission
Mr. **Marc Maresceau**, Jean Monnet Chair at the University of Ghent; former President of the European Community Studies Association-World
Mr. **Carlos Molina del Pozo**, Jean Monnet Chair at the Universidad de Alcalá 1

SESSION 6: THE Future of the Jean Monnet Programme and European Integration Studies
15:00 - 16:00

Moderator: Mr. **Jordi Curell Gotor**, Director in Directorate General Education and Culture of the European Commission

Speakers: Ms. **Lucia Serena Rossi**, Jean Monnet Chair and Director of the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence at the University of Bologna
Ms. **Catherine Flaesch-Mougin**, Jean Monnet Chair and Director of the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence at the University of Rennes 2
Mr. **José María Beneyto**, Jean Monnet Chair and Director of the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence at the Universidad San Pablo CEU

16:00 - 16:30 Debate on sessions 4 and 5

16:30 - 17:30 CLOSING SESSION

Chairperson: Ms. **Odile Quintin**, Director General at the European Commission, DG Education and Culture

Speakers: Mr. **José-María Gil-Robles**, former President of the European Parliament; President of the former Members of the European Parliament; President of the European University Council for the Jean Monnet Programme; President of the Jean Monnet Foundation; Jean Monnet Chair and Director of the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid
Ms. **Kalypso Nicoláidis**, Professor of International Relations and Director of the Centre for European Studies at Oxford University; holder of the 2009 Ganshof van der Meersch Chair at the Université Libre de Bruxelles; member of the Reflection Group on the Future of Europe led by Felipe Gonzalez
Mr. **Péter Balázs**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary; former Member of the European Commission; former Hungarian Ambassador in Denmark, Germany and to the European Union; Director of the EU Enlargement Centre at the Central European University; former Jean Monnet Chair at Budapest Corvinus University

20 ans de soutien aux études en intégration européenne : De l'Action Jean Monnet au Programme Jean Monnet

Commission européenne, DG Education et Culture, Programme Jean Monnet
Bâtiment Charlemagne, Bruxelles

Bruxelles, 7-8 septembre 2009

Lundi 7 septembre

8:00 Accueil de participants

SÉANCE D'OUVERTURE

9:00 M. **José Manuel Barroso**, Président de la Commission européenne

9:30 M. **Ján Figel'**, Membre de la Commission européenne chargé de l'éducation, de la formation, de la culture et de la jeunesse

SÉANCE 1: 20 ans de transformation en Europe centrale et orientale: l'Action Jean Monnet comme outil d'accompagnement aux processus d'adhésion

10:00 – 11:15

Président: M. **Jacek Saryusz-Wolski**, Membre du Parlement européen et ancien Président de la Commission des Affaires étrangères; ancien Ministre des Affaires Européennes polonaises; ancien Vice-Recteur du Collège d'Europe; ancien Professeur Jean Monnet au Collegium Civitas de Varsovie

Intervenants: M. **Erhard Busek**, Recteur et Chaire Jean Monnet à l'Université des Sciences Appliquées de Salzburg; Président de l'Institut pour la Région du Danube et de l'Europe Centrale; Coordinateur de l'Initiative Coopérative du Sud-ouest de l'Europe; ancien Coordinateur Spécial pour le Pacte de Stabilité pour le Sud-ouest de l'Europe, ancien Vice-Chancelier d'Autriche; ancien Représentant Spécial du Gouvernement autrichien pour l'Élargissement de l'Union européenne
M. **Vilenas Vadapalas**, Juge au Tribunal de Première Instance des Communautés européennes; ancienne Chaire Jean Monnet à l'Université de Vilnius; ancien Président d'European Community Studies Association Lituanie
M. **Jiri Zemanek**, Chaire Jean Monnet à l'Université Charles de Prague; Membre du Conseil de Législation du Gouvernement Tchéque
M. **Vinko Kandzija**, Chaire Jean Monnet à l'Université Rijeka; ancien Ambassadeur de la République Croate

SÉANCE 2:

Le réseau mondial Jean Monnet: accroître la visibilité internationale et la connaissance sur l'Union européenne

11:15 – 12:45

Président:

M. **Martin Holland**, Chaire Jean Monnet et Directeur du Centre d'Excellence Jean Monnet «Centre for Research on Europe» de l'Université de Canterbury en Nouvelle Zélande; Vice-Président d'EUSA Asia- Pacific

Intervenants:

Mme **Olga Butorina**, Chaire Jean Monnet et Directeur du Département d'intégration européenne à l'Institut d'Etat pour les Relations Internationales de Moscou

M. **Fernando Laiseca**, Chaire Jean Monnet à l'Université Adolfo Ibanez au Chili; Président d'ECSA-Amérique Latine

M. **Woosik Moon**, Chaire Jean Monnet à l'Université Nationale de Seoul National en Corée du Sud

M. **Gerrit Olivier**, Professeur et Directeur du Centre pour les études européennes de Johannesburg; Président European Community Studies Association Afrique du Sud

Mme **Alberta Sbragia**, Chaire Jean Monnet et Directeur du Centre d'Excellence de l'Union européenne de l'Université de Pittsburgh; ancienne Présidente d'European Community Studies Association-United States

M. **Xinning Song**, Chaire Jean Monnet à l'Université Renmin de Pékin, Chine; Chercheur, programme d'études comparés d'intégration régionale de l'Université des Nations Unies à Bruges

M. **Toshiro Tanaka**, Chaire Jean Monnet et Directeur du Centre d'Excellence Jean Monnet de l'Université Keio au Japon; ancien Président d'EUSA Asia-Pacific

Mme **Amy Verdun**, Chaire Jean Monnet et Directeur du Centre d'Excellence Jean Monnet à l'Université de Victoria au Canada

12:45 - 13:15

Débat sur les séances 1 et 2

DÉJEUNER

13:15 - 14:30

Réception au bâtiment Charlemagne

SÉANCE 3:

Le réseau Jean Monnet et l'évolution de l'Union Européenne: l'accompagnement des priorités politiques de l'UE

14:30 - 16:00

Accroître la capacité de prise de décision et de démocratie de l'UE: l'impact de l'évolution constitutionnelle

Président:

Yves Mény, Président de l'Institut Universitaire Européen; ancien Directeur du Centre Robert Schuman de l'IUE; ancien Professeur auprès des Universités de Rennes, Paris 2 et de l'Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris

Intervenants:

M. **Wolfgang Wessels**, Chaire Jean Monnet à l'Université de Cologne; Président du Comité Exécutif de l'Institut für Europäische Politik et de la Trans-European Policy Studies Association; ancien Directeur des Etudes Politiques et Administratives au Collège d'Europe

Mme **Lenka Rovna**, Chaire Jean Monnet à l'Université Charles de Prague; membre suppléant de la Convention européenne sur le Traité Constitutionnel

15:15 - 16:00 Débat

16:00 - 17:30 [La crise économique mondiale et le rôle de l'Euro](#)

Président: M. **Tibor Palankai**, Chaire Jean Monnet, Directeur du Centre des Etudes Européennes et ancien Recteur de l'Université Corvinus de Budapest; Vice-président du Conseil d'administration de la Banque Hongroise de Développement

Intervenants: Mme **Blanche Sousi**, Chaire Jean Monnet et Directeur de l'Institut de Droit et d'Economie des Affaires; ancien Membre du panel d'experts sur les services financiers de la Commission Economique et Monétaire du Parlement européen
M. **Ramon Tamames**, Chaire Jean Monnet à l'Université Autonome de Madrid

16:45 - 17:30 Débat

19:30 Dîner à l'Hôtel Husa Président Park

Mardi 8 septembre

9:30 – 11:00 [Migration, relations euro-méditerranéennes et dialogue interculturel](#)

Président: M. **Enrique Banús**, Chaire Jean Monnet and Directeur du Master en Gestion culturelle à l'Université Internationale de Catalogne à Barcelone; Président de la European Community Studies Association (European Community Studies Association)-World

Intervenants: Mme **Maria Grazia Melchionni**, Chaire Jean Monnet à l'Université de Rome «La Sapienza»
M. **Peter G. Xuereb**, Chaire Jean Monnet à l'Université de Malte, président d'European Community Studies Association-Malta
Mme **Elsbeth Guild**, Chaire Jean Monnet en Droit des Migrations à l'Université Radboud de Nijmegen; Visiting Professor à la London School of Economics and Political Science et au College d'Europe; Enseignant à King's College London; Chercheur au Centre for European Policy Studies; Partner de Kingsley Napley solicitors

10:15 - 11:00 Débat

SÉANCE 4: [L'Action Jean Monnet et le développement des études sur l'intégration européenne](#)

11:00 – 12:30

Président: M. **Paul Demaret**, Recteur du Collège d'Europe; Chaire Jean Monnet à l'Université de Liège

Intervenants: *Histoire:* Mme **Daniela Preda**, Chaire Jean Monnet Chair à la Faculté de Sciences Politiques de l'Université de Gênes; President d'European Community Studies Association-Italie
Droit: M. **Peter-Christian Müller-Graff**, Chaire Jean Monnet Chair et Directeur de l'Institut pour le Droit Civil et Economique Allemand et Européen à l'Université Ruprecht-Karl de Heidelberg; Professeur au Collège d'Europe; Président de l'Arbeitskreis Europäische Integration
Science Politique: Mme **Helen Wallace**, Centennial Professor à la London School of Economics and Political Science; ancien Directeur du Centre Robert Schuman Centre à l'IUE ; ancien Chaire Jean Monnet à l'Université de Sussex
Relations internationales: M. **Knud Erik Jørgensen**, Chaire Jean Monnet à l'Université d'Aarhus
Economie: Mme **Tatyana Muravska**, Chaire Jean Monnet à l'Université de Lettonie; Présidente d'European Community Studies AssociationLatvia

12:00 - 12:30 Débat

DÉJEUNER

12:30 - 14:00 Réception au bâtiment Charlemagne

SÉANCE 5: Histoire du programme Jean Monnet
14:00 - 15:00

Président: M. **Manuel Porto**, Chaire Jean Monnet et ancien Doyen de la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Coimbra; ancien Président European Community Studies Association-World; ancien Vice-Président du Comité des Budgets du Parlement Européen

Intervenants: M. **Jacques-René Rabier**, ancien Directeur du Cabinet de M. Jean Monnet; Directeur Général honoraire de la Commission Européenne
M. **Marc Maresceau**, Chaire Jean Monnet à l'Université de Gand et ancien Président d'European Community Studies Association-World
M. **Carlos Molina del Pozo**, Chaire Jean Monnet à l'Université d'Alcalá

SÉANCE 6: Le futur du programme Jean Monnet et des études sur l'intégration européenne
15:00 - 16:00

Président: M. **Jordi Curell Gotor**, Directeur à la Direction Générale Education et Culture de la Commission européenne

Intervenants: Mme **Lucia Serena Rossi**, Chaire Jean Monnet et Directrice du Centre d'Excellence Jean Monnet à l'Université de Bologne
Mme **Catherine Flaesch-Mouglin**, Chaire Jean Monnet et Directrice du Centre d'Excellence Jean Monnet à l'Université de Rennes 2
M. **José María Beneyto**, Chaire Jean Monnet et Directeur du Centre d'Excellence Jean Monnet à l'Université San Pablo CEU

16:00 - 16:30 Débat sur les séances 4 et 5

16:30 - 17:30 Séance de clôture

Président: Mme **Odile Quintin**, Directrice générale à la Commission européenne, DG Education et Culture

Intervenants: M. **José-María Gil-Robles**, ancien Président du Parlement Européen; Président de l'Association d'Anciens Membres du Parlement Européen; Président du Conseil Universitaire Européen pour le Programme Jean Monnet; Président de la Fondation Jean Monnet; Chaire Jean Monnet et Directeur du Centre d'Excellence Jean Monnet à l'Université Complutense de Madrid
Mme **Kalypso Nicolaidis**, Professeur de relations internationales et Directeur du Centre d'Etudes Européennes à l'Université d'Oxford; Chaire Ganshof van der Meersch 2009 à l'Université Libre de Bruxelles; Membre du Groupe de Réflexion sur le Future de l'Europe présidé par M. Felipe Gonzalez
M. **Péter Balázs**, Ministre Hongrois des Affaires Etrangères; ancien Membre de la Commission européenne; ancien Ambassadeur Hongrois au Danemark, en Allemagne et à l'Union européenne; Directeur du Centre of European Enlargement à la Central European University; ancien Chaire Jean Monnet à l'Université Corvinus de Budapest

European Commission

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